THE EARLY HISTORY OF TASMANIA

1642-1804

R. W. GIBLIN

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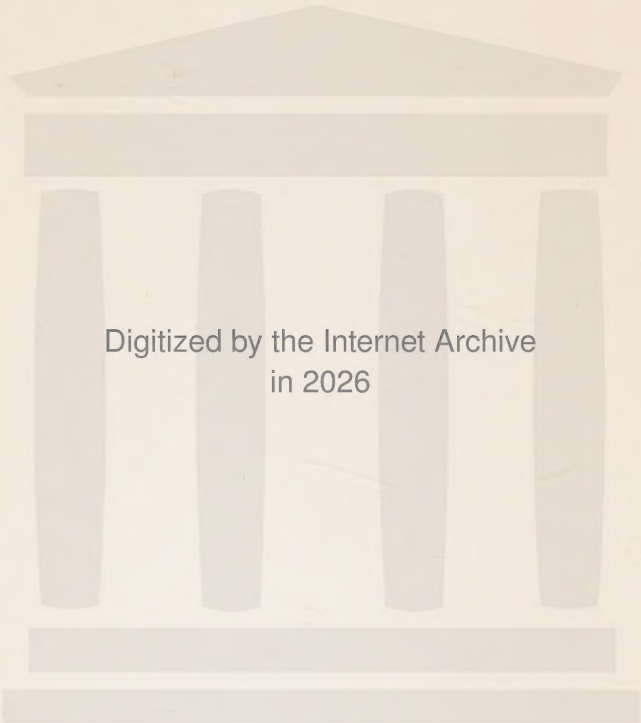
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THE EARLY HISTORY OF TASMANIA

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL ERA 1642-1804

BY

R. W. GIBLIN

F.R.G.S., F.R.C.I.

SOMETIME DIRECTOR OF THE ROYAL SURVEY DEPARTMENT OF SIAM

"May God Almighty be pleased to give His Blessing to this Voyage. Amen."

ABEL JANSZ TASMAN 1642

WITH THREE PLATES AND TWELVE CHARTS

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TO
ALL WHO LOVE THE ISLAND

"Man, through all ages of revolving time,
Unchanging man, in every varying clime,
Deems his own land of every land the pride,
Beloved by Heaven o'er all the world beside;
His home the spot of earth supremely blest,
A dearer, sweeter spot than all the rest."

JAMES MONTGOMERY

"All will agree that history cannot be properly taught without the aid of the map, and if history should always be coupled with geography, especially is this true of the history of the British Empire, which is geography's own child. . . . I sometimes think if teachers were compelled to teach the story of the Empire from Place Names alone, it would be better learnt and certainly better remembered than by teaching from any other source."

SIR CHARLES LUCAS

PREFACE

THE history of Tasmania before Australian Federation took place in 1900 may be conveniently divided into three periods which were, by their nature, entirely distinct each from the others. The first of these was the Geographical Era, dating from the discovery of the island in 1642 to the years 1803 and 1804, when the first settlements were formed. The second division may be termed the Penal Establishment Era. This lasted from 1804 to the recall of Lieutenant-Governor Arthur in 1836. The final phase might be called the Progressive Era, and was marked by a continuous improvement and development in all the conditions which made for a better social order for the inhabitants of the country.

With federation there came quite another outlook, an extended horizon, as it was hoped, and a national life which would place Tasmania in association and on a par with her sister States in the Commonwealth. That life is still in its embryo stages, and its progress is of concern quite other than may be dealt with here. It is, however, permissible to express the hope that the difficulties and problems which must inevitably present themselves to the descendants of the early colonists, and to those who yearly enter the State to make it their home, will be met as bravely, as resolutely, one might even say as wisely, as were those that confronted the early settlers in their fight for the recognition of their rights as citizens of Empire, in their struggles to make their new homeland a worthy, valuable and well-managed section of the estate known as the British Empire to which they owed allegiance.

Of the three historical stages referred to above the second and third certainly show some overlapping. The penal era lasted to some extent beyond the year 1836, even indeed until 1852, when gold rushes to the mainland drained Tasmania of a large proportion of its freed convicts, a further change being effected the following year by the cessation of transportation. Similarly the progressive age began to assert its force long years before 1836. The passing of the Reform Act in 1832 marked the change that was taking place in England from an attitude of what amounted to a harsh control by a governing class, and its executive bodies,

towards a better recognition, grudgingly admitted, of the natural aspirations of a rapidly growing community in search of genuine forms of self-government. This movement was not without its effect in Tasmania, and the termination in 1836 of a governorship which, whatever its virtues may have been, was otherwise a personification of the worst features of the bad age slowly passing away, stands out as a definite landmark in the annals of the young colony.

For a proper understanding of the conditions under which the settlement of Tasmania—and, at an earlier date, that of New South Wales—came about, as well as of the circumstances attending their early growth, it is necessary to study not only the local events in their sequence and development, but also the contemporary history of the British Isles. The tremendous changes in the social conditions of the bulk of their population brought about by what is now called the Industrial Revolution, the effects of the Declaration of Independence by the United States of America, together with the results of the unjust English laws of that period and of the wars in which the Empire was involved, all these things should be considered in their relation with and influence upon the birth and childhood of the colony. Any adequate relation of the movements that formed part of that wonderful period of transition would be beyond the scope of this work, but it would be an omission not to direct attention to them.

The first of the three historical phases defined above forms the subject of the present volume. Thanks are due to those by whose aid it has been possible to gather some of the information needed in its preparation. It may be said, indeed, that it is a pleasure to make investigations at the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the India Office, and the Natural History Museum, because of the courteous consideration and attention afforded by the officials of those departments. Particular acknowledgment should be made of the permission given by Admiral H. B. Douglas, C.M.G., R.N., Hydrographer of the Navy, for the reproduction of maps belonging to his department, and of the assistance in this matter accorded by Captain J. D. Nares, D.S.O., R.N., Assistant Hydrographer, who has himself conducted nautical surveys on the coasts of Tasmania. Finally, grateful thanks must be given to the Library Staff of the Royal Colonial Institute, and, in a special way, to Mr. Henry Balfour, F.R.S., Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, and to Mr. Edward Heawood, Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society, for their friendly response to the needs of an inquirer, and to Mr. S. C. Gilmour, F.R.G.S., for his advice and assistance in the revision of the text.

A word may be said about the use made of the narratives of the early voyages to Tasmania. It has been thought preferable to quote from these directly and at some length, in order that readers and writers should meet, as it were, without any intermediary. The French translations, with the exception of Baudin's Letters, are those made by the present writer, even in cases where English versions have been published.

The preparation of a second volume, to cover the period named above, "The Penal Settlement Era," 1804–1836, is in progress.

R. W. G.

March, 1928

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THE EARLY HISTORY OF TASMANIA

CHAPTER I

THE ISLAND—NIGHT

FACING the Antarctic Ocean with its storm-tossed seas, its barriers of ice and gloomy desolate lands, the Island lies brooding, sullen in the obstinate resistance it presents to the harsh forces of nature arrayed against its shores, yet incapable of proving itself immune from their recurrent attacks. Ages have passed since the time of volcanic action with its hurling down and building up of hills and mountains, and of earthquakes, throwing into such strange disarray the strata and ridges of rock forming the very foundations of the land, and moulding the outlines of the mountain tops into those jagged and terraced forms that are so distinctive, so diversified, a feature throughout its length and breadth. Past, too, is that period of glaciers, with their stupendous power of grinding out lake-hollows and of carving gorges as outlets for the streams of water carried across the southern seas by the prevailing winds and let loose from the clouds arrested by the elevated tablelands of the interior.

Except for the slow movements of development by which nature always works the way to her ends, the period that succeeded those more majestic ages was doubtless as static as opposing elements, seeking for a possible equilibrium, might permit.

At the base of the Island, boldly fronting the south, rise sheer headlands not a few, which seem to stand forth as guardians and sentinels defending the land, set there to break the strength, if so it might be, of attacking waves and winds. At long intervals a fall of massive rock sends its reverberating echoes along the grey shores and shows how the sea, with its stealthy action in undermining the cliff foundations, seeks to prove its ultimate omnipotence. The outlying islands give evidence of a stubborn determination, equally strong, not to be overborne in the struggle.

On the west coast the balance of power seems to have been attained. The winds and waves, rolling unfettered a thousand miles across the open seas, rush upon the land in vain. The beaches of that coast are able to receive and withstand the onslaught of the battering waters, and the high lands accept the heavy moisture of the winds and use it to produce a vegetation so dense and thickly arrayed in parts as to be almost impenetrable. The rough impulse of the gales is broken by mountain and tableland, and thus it is that the climate of the east coast is more mellow and equable in its disposition, the country-side smoother and more open than elsewhere, and nature shows herself less boisterous, genial even in some of her aspects.

Beautiful in the contours of its outline as a heart-shaped gem of the seas, the Island presents some magnificent symmetries of form. Deep indentations on the west are balanced by openings in the land on the east, different in kind and in shape, but equally graceful in their breaking of the even line of coast, that irregularity in uniformity which rests the eye and mind. On the south the huge indentation formed by an inlet of the sea and a splendid river has as its counterpart in the north another arm of the sea and its attendant stream.

On the north, at the western and eastern wings of the heart-shaped land there lie in the sea, like flying buttresses, islands that look as if they had at one time formed part of bridges of junction with the great mainland on the north. There can be little doubt that at some remote period there was such a connection between the two countries, until a mighty convulsion gave to the Island an independent career.

Not always do the grey gales from the south-west sweep across the land. The heats of summer, accentuated occasionally by hot draughts of tropical strength from the neighbouring continent, have drawn up from the generous soil of the Island mighty forests of trees and shrubs, strange in growth, in kind and in fibre, some of the species akin to those growing within the boundaries of that adjacent land, but unknown to the inhabitants of civilized countries in the old world. If the hills and mountains are remarkable in their form, forbidding and stern in their appearance, the animals and birds are not less strange and novel. Almost might some of them be called freaks of nature, and yet they are old in kind, of ancient stock, and well adapted to their surroundings, for the country is not all covered in jungle, and there is moreover an influence at work, has perchance been present as long as they and their kind have been there, modifying the conditions under which the animals at least have their being. That influence is exerted by primitive man.

Whence the race of savages inhabiting the Island came, and the date of their advent, will probably never be known with certainty. There have been many theories put forth concerning these things, but the most reasonable is that the first comers descended from the north at a time when the present island was connected with the continent. The differences between the two races, Tasmanians and Australians, are to be accounted for by changes amongst the tribes of the mainland under more recent influences. The marvellous fact remains that on the Island in this obscure period Primitive Man exists, coeval in development with the cave men of other lands, and with that early age when the knowledge of the use of stone as weapon or as tool was still in an elementary stage.

Of nationhood there is no idea, nor indeed is it necessary where combination for defence against attack from without is uncalled for. Self-preservation and self-reproduction, without adjuncts of any kind and in their simplest forms, are the only plain compelling instincts of these primitives. The family group constitutes their highest form of association, combined for mutual interests with a certain amount of kinship with neighbouring groups. And these clusters of related units are bound down and confined to certain districts or areas beyond which they may not, through fear of attack from adjoining clusters, carry on the all-important search for food. This indeed is the primary consideration, furnishing "the daily round, the common task". Of cultivation there is none. There is a sufficiency of animal food, provided the undergrowth is kept down regularly by bush fires; provided too that the game can be hunted with success, but nets and snares are unknown, and everything depends on the skill of the hunters, whose weapons consist merely of pointed sticks and spears. Such creatures as live in trees are open to attack, but their chances of escape are fairly good, else would they have failed to survive as they have done. Some species may perhaps have become extinct owing to this warfare. The sea, however, provides further means of subsistence, for the coasts and bays, sheltered and shallow in many parts, furnish a plenteous supply of shell-fish, and on these the savages, the greater number of whom live along the shores, using them as their bases of operations, depend partly for their living. It is strange that during succeeding centuries the art of catching the many kinds of fish (other than shell-fish), with which the waters surrounding the Island abound, has not developed in some degree. Perhaps indeed the faculty and knowledge required, if ever possessed, have died out, destroying in the process the taste for scaled fish as a food. Nor are the skins of animals put to use as clothing in ways understood

by primitive man elsewhere. What is to be said on behalf of the intelligence of a race to whom the stitching together of the skins of kangaroos, of wallabies or opossums, for covering as protection against the climate, is an unsolved problem ? Had it been given to them to learn this they might then indeed have advanced a little farther, and applied the art to the making of canoes.

Of the numbers of these savages occupying the land nothing certain may ever be known. The food supplies available control the population, and without the requisite knowledge of adding to the rations no great increase is possible or even advisable. Two thousand persons may be the outside limit of the population ; possibly there are more, but it is unlikely. The figure given is sufficiently near to indicate the small importance of the primitive race located in the Island and living upon it in such precarious fashion as has been indicated. Should it ever happen that these crude and ignorant bush-men are brought into contact with a strong and virile race of men, bent on subduing nature, and refusing to be overcome by her, it requires no great acumen to foretell that, from very inanity and powerlessness, they will be fated inevitably to melt away and disappear from the face of the land. Nor will the process be one that can possibly be long drawn out or open to doubt at any time as to its result.

And so the Island lies slumbering, deeply, heavily, restlessly at times, when ravaged by rain-laden gales or flooded with summer sun and heat. In its dreams it seems to catch vague echoes of the music of a life under less brooding skies—as in other lands—of hopes of better days to come and of a race which will find a homeland within the compass of its shores. Then in those more spacious days—only to be reached through bitter strivings and sorrows, toil and hardship—will there arrive a time of appreciation of those things which as yet lie hidden, natural beauties, wealth to be derived from the soil or from the stores hidden beneath the surface, a climate benign and life-giving, and an understanding that the very gales and rain-storms are a blessing intended for the service of civilized Man, bringing to the Island those streams of water which, properly conserved and controlled, may be used in many ways for the fulfilment of his activities.

CHAPTER II

THE ISLAND—DAWN

(1) Discovery by Tasman.
(2) Tasman's Journal.
(3) The English and Dutch East India Companies.

(1) Discovery by Tasman

ON the 24th of November 1642, Abel Jansz Tasman, Dutch Navigator and Explorer, from his ship, *Heemskerck*, sighted the west coast of Tasmania, and so lifted to some extent the pall of darkness which had hung over the Island for countless ages.

Tasman felt that he was honouring the new territory he had found by bestowing upon it the name of his Chief, Anthony van Diemen, Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company, the active official who had sent the expedition forth in the interests of the Company. Nor did Tasman forget the Governor's wife, Maria, when naming a large island on the east coast. Members of the Council of the Company were included in this process, but for his own share in the discovery he was content to give the name of Tasman to the rock which rises sheer from the sea to a height of 800 feet, standing out like a sentinel in front of Cape Pillar, and crowned to-day with a lighthouse to aid mariners and fishermen on their way.

Directing his course, after first sighting the land, along the south-west coast, and following the line of the south coast, Tasman received such a repulse from a northerly gale when endeavouring to enter the arm of the sea leading northwards to the mouth of the Derwent, that he named it Storm Bay, and when the winds enabled him to bear northwards again he found himself on the east coast, and anchored for a few days in what is now called North Bay, in the north-east part of " Forestier's " Peninsula. His charts (Plates 1 and 2) show what he discovered ; they do not contain a great deal of detail—a rough sketch of coast line, one anchorage fixed and that an exposed one, and the positions of some islands determined.

Tasman thought when he caused the Dutch flag to be planted in a little inlet near his anchorage (now called Prince of Wales Bay), and so formally took possession of the newly found land, that he had met with and charted a portion of the southern coast of New Holland, the Australia of to-day, and that supposition was accepted as a geographical fact for 156 years, until indeed another great navigator, an Englishman, eager and accomplished, and accompanied by a friend as enthusiastic as himself, proved, by his daring voyage in a 25-ton sloop, that Tasmania was in reality an island, separated by many a mile of navigable waters from that other land, the island continent of Australia, lying to the north of her shores.

When Tasman approached the shores of Tasmania he sighted some high mountains. One of these was no doubt the Frenchman's Cap, and another that which is now called Zeehan, after the small brig (*Zeehaen*) which accompanied the *Heemskerck* on the expedition. As he departed from the east coast on the 5th of December to continue his voyage he reported a round mountain as being the last object seen of the new land. This was the mountain known to-day as St. Paul's Dome. A few days later (13th December), Tasman made his second great discovery, New Zealand, and named it Staaten Land. His first anchorage was at Murderers' Bay, now called Golden Bay, west of Cook Strait. Here he lost four men, part of the crew of a boat cut off by a number of Maoris in their canoes: these men were clubbed to death; three others escaped by swimming to one of the ships. Tasman now traversed the west coast of North Island, and again was impressed with the possibility that the land he had found must belong to some greater territory or sub-continent. It seemed indeed to be Tasman's fate to discover new countries only in part. Passing on to the north he fell in with the Friendly Isles, not hitherto charted by navigators, and turning westward skirted the northern coast of New Guinea, and made his way back to Batavia, whence he had set out exactly ten months previously. Within that comparatively short period he had not only discovered and mapped part of the coast lines of two countries, but, more important from the geographical point of view of that age, he had circumnavigated New Holland. Somewhere within the circuit of his sea route lay that great South Land or continent which was known to exist from the explorations previously carried out on its west coast. Moreover a new passage-way to the rich and exposed Spanish settlements in South America had been disclosed, and to the Dutch, who at that time intensely desired such an alternative route, this part of Tasman's achievement was especially welcome. (Plate 3.)

For Anthony van Diemen, dreaming of the commercial glory of the company over whose destinies in the East he held command, and accustomed to exploit the fertile and profitable islands of the tropics, there was always the lure of riches by trade, the acquisition of commodities—perhaps even gold—to be cheaply purchased, to be dearly sold. From him and his like the fact remained hidden that the treasures of Australia and Tasmania were only to be wrung by a white race living in those temperate climes, making them home-lands and working in strenuous fashion as actual producers of wealth, and not as merchants only, buyers and sellers of the products of others. Soon after Tasman's return to Java, therefore, a second expedition was fitted out, of which he was given command, and his instructions, dated the 29th of January 1644, show that Tasmania was to be included in this new scheme of exploration. The navigator was to sail eastward with his three ships between Australia and the south coast of New Guinea. Difficulties were expected:

"Nevertheless" (ran the Instructions) "endeavour by all means to proceed, that we may be certain whether this land (New Guinea) is divided from the great and known South Land or not, and you shall try (if possible) to run to the south-east as far as to the new Van Diemen's Land, steering along the east coast of the known South Land according to its trending, and from Van Diemen's Land to the Islands St. Peter and St. Francis (De Nuyts' Land), and following the direction of the coast westward to de Wit's Land and Willems River in 22° south latitude, when the known South Land would be entirely circumnavigated and discovered to be the largest Island in the globe."

The Dutch Governor's excellent plan for completing the coast survey of the still unknown eastern and southern parts of Australia broke down through Tasman's failure to find the strait that the Spanish navigator, Torres, had sailed through in 1606, and that now rightly bears his name. It is unlikely that the Dutch knew at that time of Torres' achievement, but they strongly suspected the existence of such a strait, and expected Tasman to prove it. In 1770 Cook, on his first voyage, appears to have believed that he himself was the first to negotiate the passage. Uncertainty of this kind was due to the fact that the first adventurers in the Far East, the Portuguese and Spaniards, regarded the discoveries of their mariners as trade secrets to be guarded with the utmost jealousy. The Dutch, who followed them, in their endeavours to oust not only the first comers, but the English, who arrived later, from all participation in such valuable commerce, carried on this policy of secrecy whenever it served their set purpose of establishing a vast overseas monopoly in the exchange of goods.

able navigator; and it is to be esteemed no small addition to his important discoveries, and indeed no small evidence of his merit, that he explored a larger proportion of Unknown Sea in a high latitude, and thereby restricted the limits of a supposed Southern Continent, more than any other navigator between the time of Megelhanes and the time of Captain Cook."

(2) Tasman's Journal

The prayer set down by Tasman when he began the Journal of his Voyage from Batavia for making Discoveries of the Unknown South Land in the year 1642, and printed on the title-page of this work, is one that by its simplicity and deeply felt hope for success in the new undertaking commends itself to successive generations of those to whom the land first discovered by him has been entrusted for the fulfilment of a great design.

The extracts from the diary that are given here show in sufficient detail the personal association that Tasman and his countrymen had with the island. Of those companions of his voyage mention should be made of the Master-Pilot, Franz Visscher, the chief navigator of the expedition This official of the Company stood high in the estimation of Van Diemen and had been consulted as to the best route to be followed. Visscher's qualifications as a pilot placed him nearly on a par with Tasman, owing to his intimate knowledge of all those parts in the East Indies into which the Dutch were pressing forward their tentacles for the purpose of securing trade. It had been decided by Van Diemen that the ships should sail to Mauritius, then a Dutch possession. To begin a journey to the south-east by first sailing south-west for three weeks seems a roundabout method of proceeding, but just as travellers about to undertake an important journey sometimes move at first a short distance from their point of departure to gather by experience if all has been provided for, so in this case Mauritius afforded the best jumping-off ground, both as regards wind conditions, refitment of the ships and replenishment of stores, before the final plunge into the unknown was made. (Plate 3.)

The longitudes given by Tasman were reckoned from the Peak of Teneriffe, 16° 46′ west of Greenwich. His distances have been converted into English miles.

1642. August 14th we set sail from the road of Batavia in the yacht *Heemskerck*, in company with the fly-boat *Zeehaen*. Arrived at Mauritius on the 5th of September.

8th October. We left Mauritius and stood out to sea—for which the Lord be praised and thanked.

27th October. In the morning we saw a great quantity of duck

weed. We held a Council and it was resolved to keep a man constantly at the topmast head to look out and that whoever first discovered land, sands or banks under water should receive a reward of 3 reals (12 shillings) and a pot of arrack (about $1\frac{3}{4}$ of a pint).

The 23rd of November found our latitude at noon 42.50 south, longitude 162.51 east.

The 24th we had fine weather and a clear sky with light wind. Held our course E. by N. At noon found the lat. was 42.25 south. In the afternoon about 4 o'clock we saw land bearing E. by N. distance from us by conjecture 40 miles. The land was very high and towards evening we saw high mountains to the E.S.E. and to the N.E. two smaller mountains. We had a light breeze and resolved to run off in the night 5 hours to sea, and then to run back again towards the land. We sounded in the night and had ground at 100 fathoms.

The 25th. In the morning it was calm. Towards noon the wind came from S.E. and then S. We steered towards the shore and about 5 o'clock we were within 12 miles. We ran nearer the coast and at 4 miles distance had fine white sand when we sounded. The coast here lies N. by W. and is level. We were here in lat. 42.30. This land being the first we have met with in the South Sea, and not known to any European nation, we have given it the name of Anthony van Diemen's Land, in honour of the Hon. the Governor-General, our illustrious master, who sent us out to make this discovery. The islands near to us so far as known to us we have named after the Hon. Councillors of India, as you may see by the little chart we have made.

The 26th. We had easterly wind and hazy weather. At noon we hoisted the flag to speak the *Zeehaen* and ordered Mr. Gilsemans to come on board, to whom we declared the reasons mentioned in a letter which we gave him to shew to Gerrit Janszoon, the Master of the *Zeehaen*, and to the mates, regarding the longitude, 163.30, we had agreed upon to fix the land seen the day before.

The 27th. In the morning we saw the coast again. The wind was N.E. with foggy rainy weather.

The 28th. In the morning we made sail eastward. Saw the land N.E. from us and stood towards it. At noon our latitude we supposed 44.12. In the evening we came near the coast; here near the shore are a number of small islands, of which one has the shape of a lion and is about 12 miles from the mainland.

The 29th. In the morning we were still near the rock which is like a lion's head. We sailed along the coast. Towards midday we passed two rocks, the westernmost of which resembles the Pedra Branca off the coast of China. (1) The easternmost was like a tall misshapen tower, and is about 16 miles from the mainland. We passed between these rocks and the mainland. We continued along the coast and about 5 o'clock in the afternoon we came before a Bay which seemed likely to afford a good anchorage, upon which we resolved with our ship's council to run into it. We had nearly got into the

(1) Note.

Bay when there arose so strong a gale we were obliged to take in sail and run out to sea again, as it was impossible to come to anchor in such a storm.

The 30th. We had been driven so far off in the night that at daylight we could scarcely see the land; we had variable winds and endeavoured to get in with the shore.

1st of December. In the morning we made for the coast. In the afternoon we had an easterly breeze and an hour after sunset we anchored in a good harbour in 22 fathoms—for all of which it behoves us to thank God Almighty with grateful hearts.

The 2nd. Early in the morning we sent out Pilot-major Francoys Jacobsz in command of our pinnace, manned with 6 musketeers and 6 rowers, all of them furnished with pikes and side-arms, together with the cock-boat of the *Zeehaen* with one of her second mates and 6 musketeers in it, to a bay, situated N.W. of us at upwards of 4 miles distance, in order to ascertain what supplies (as regards fresh water, refreshments, timber and the like) may be available there. About 3 hours before nightfall the boats came back, bringing various samples of vegetables, which they had seen growing there in great abundance, some of them in appearance not unlike a certain plant growing at the Cape of Good Hope, and fit to be used as pot-herbs, and another species with long leaves and a brackish taste, strongly resembling sea-parsley or samphire. They made the following report:—

They had rowed for upwards of four miles round the said point, where they had found high but level ground, covered with vegetation, not cultivated, abundance of excellent timber, and a watercourse in a barren valley, the water though of good quality being difficult to procure, because the watercourse was so shallow the water could be dipped with bowls only.

They had heard certain human sounds, and sounds nearly resembling a trumpet or small gong, not far from them, though they had seen no one. Two trees about 2 or 2½ fathoms in thickness had been seen, these measured from 60 to 65 feet from the ground to the lower branches, and bore notches made with flint instruments; these notches forming a series of steps to enable persons to get up the trees to rob the birds' nests, were fully 5 feet apart, so that our men concluded that the natives here must be of very tall stature, or must be in possession of some sort of artifice for climbing the trees. On the ground they had discovered tracks of animals, not unlike those of a tiger's claws; they also brought on board a small quantity of gum of a fine quality, which had exuded from the trees and bore some resemblance to gum-lac. Round the eastern point of this bay they had sounded 13 or 14 feet at high water, there being about 3 feet at low tide. [The tracks seen were probably those of Tasmanian tigers, and the gong-like sounds the notes of "black magpies."]

At the extremity of this point they had seen large numbers of gulls, wild duck and geese, but had found no fish except different kinds of mussels forming small clusters in several places. The land is pretty generally covered with trees standing well apart and with no undergrowth. They had observed numerous trees with deep holes burnt

From Prof! Heeres' "Tasman," published in Amsterdam 1898

into them at the foot, and some of these had earthen fireplaces in them. At various points they had seen clouds of smoke rising up in the land.

The 3rd. We went to the S.E. side of this bay in the same boats as yesterday's, here we found water, but the land is so low-lying that the fresh water was made salt and brackish by the surf, while the soil is too rocky to allow of wells to be dug. We therefore returned on board and held a council of the two ships. In the afternoon we went to the S.E. side of this bay in the boats aforesaid, having with us Pilot-major Francoys Jacobsz, Skipper Gerrit Jansz, Isack Gilsemans, supercargo on board the *Zeehaen*, sub-cargo Abraham Coomans, and our master carpenter, Pieter Jacobsz; we took with us a pole with the Company's mark carved on it, and a flag of the Prince to be set up there, that those that come after us may become aware that we have been here, and have taken possession of the said land as our lawful property. When we had rowed about half-way with our boats it began to blow very hard, and the sea ran so high that the cock-boat of the *Zeehaen*, in which were the Pilot-major and Mr. Gilsemans, was compelled to pull back to the ships. When we had come close inshore in a small inlet which bore W.S.W. of the ships the surf ran so high that we could not get near the shore without running the risk of having our pinnace dashed to pieces. We then ordered the carpenter to swim to the shore with the pole and the flag; we made him plant the pole in the earth, with the flag upon its top, about the centre of the bay near 4 tall trees easily recognisable and standing in the form of a crescent, exactly before the one standing lowest. This tree is burnt in just above the ground, and is in reality taller than the other three, but it seems to be shorter because it stands lower on the sloping ground. Our carpenter having performed his work we pulled as near the shore as we dared, thereupon he swam back to the pinnace. This work having been duly executed we pulled back to the ships, leaving the above mentioned as a memorial for those who shall come after us, and for the natives of this country, who did not show themselves, though we suspect some of them were at no great distance and closely watching our proceedings.

At sunset we got a strong gale from the north, which rose to so violent a storm from the N.N.W. that we were compelled to get both our yards in and drop our small bower-anchor.

The 4th. At dawn the storm abated, and we set sail in order to pass to the north to landward of the northernmost islands, and seek a better watering place. At our anchorage our latitude was 43 S. and longitude 167.30. During the whole of that day we had very variable winds; in the evening we saw a round mountain bearing N.N.W. at about 32 miles distance. While sailing out of the bay and all through the day we saw several columns of smoke ascend along the coast. Here it would be proper to give a description of the coast and the islands lying off it, but we beg to be excused and refer for brevity's sake to the small chart made of it and attached hereto.

The 5th. In the morning we kept our previous course; the high round mountain seen the day before now bore due west 24 miles from

us. We could no longer steer near the coast, the wind being almost ahead. We therefore convened the council and the second mates and it was resolved that we should direct our course due east to the full longitude of 195° for the purpose of making further discoveries. At noon on this day our estimated latitude was 41.34.

Tasman's last entry in his journal is dated the 15th of June 1643, the ships having arrived the previous afternoon at their starting-point. "In the morning at daybreak I went to Batavia in the pinnace. God be praised and thanked for this happy voyage. Amen."

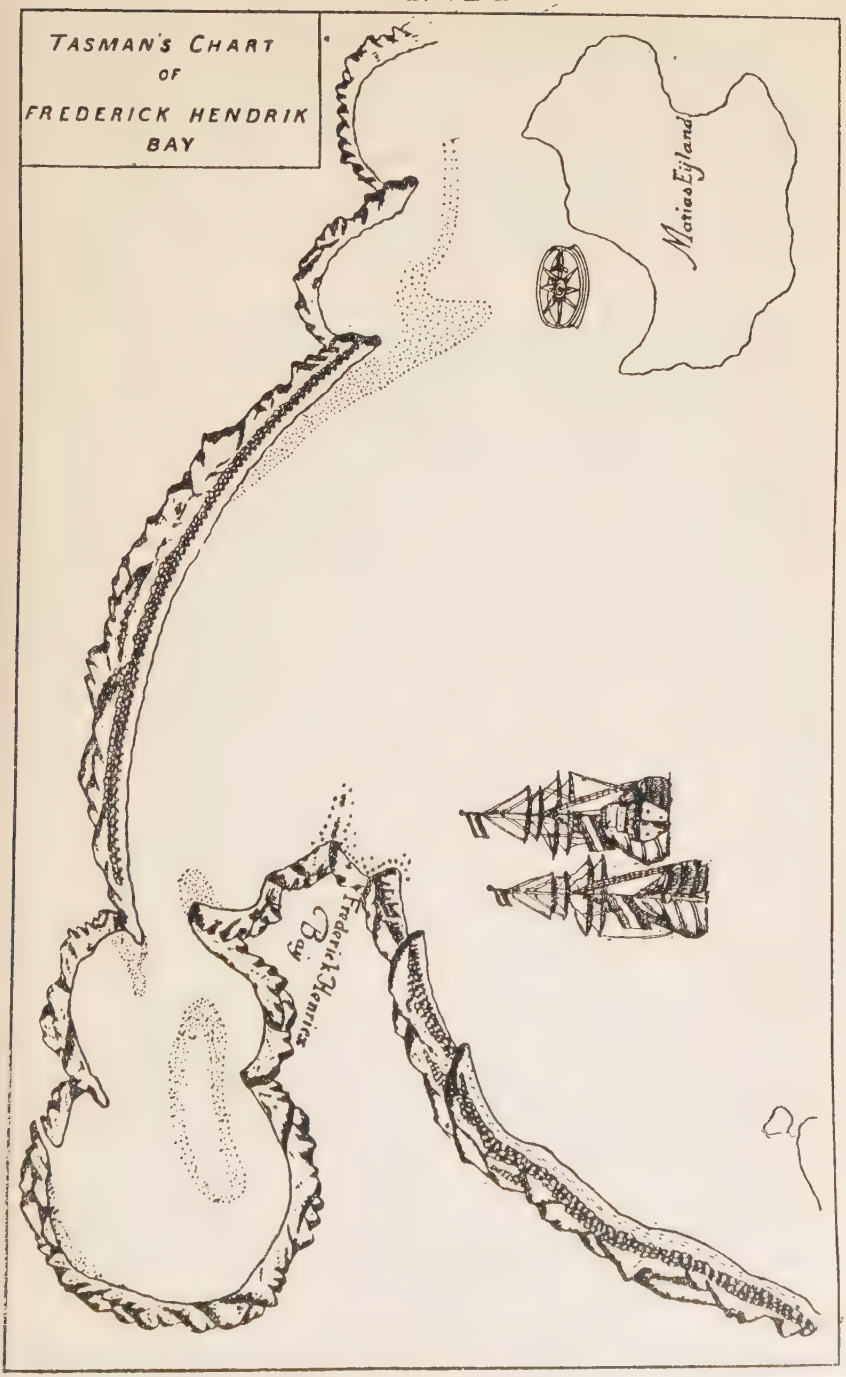
Tasman bestowed place-names in honour of the following members of the Council of the Dutch East India Company: Cornelis Witsen, Salomon Sweers, Joan Maetsuycker, Pieter Boreel, Justus Schouten, and Cornelis van der Lyn. Of these but two, Maetsuycker and Schouten (and a corruption of Witsen), have survived, and it is only fair to say that thereby ample justice has been done to the claims of that Company for recognition in the exploratory work initiated by them. Van Diemen's name must be for ever associated with the story of the land discovered by Tasman, albeit that name is related with its most unhappy period, that phase of its existence which, as the years and centuries pass, will so much the more be regarded as a painful incident of childhood. Tasman's connection with the island is something apart from his association with his employers, and it is as a navigator, a geographer and a discoverer that he is held in honour.

To commemorate the landing of its discoverer on the island the Royal Society of Tasmania, with some public aid, in 1922 erected an obelisk on or in the vicinity of the spot where, as well as could be judged from his description and from the indications now available, he set up the flag of the Stadtholder of the Netherlands.

(3) The Dutch East India Company, 1602–1798
The English East India Company, 1600–1854

We have seen how the voyage of Tasman which led to the discovery of Tasmania was brought about by one of the ambitious schemes of the Dutch East India Company in the first half of the seventeenth century. Years before that event the Netherlanders had in their explorations and trading voyages learned something about the northern and western coasts of Australia, and had begun to build up a theory as to the extent of that unknown land. (Plate 3.) It is a proper thing therefore to give here some account of the Company which thus sought to create

PLATE 2



From Prof. Heeres' "Tasman", published in Amsterdam 1898

an influence over those lands lying to the south of that wide realm, centred on Java, which they had set out to make their own.

So, too, is it necessary to note the activities of the English East India Company. At first sight it might appear that the southern lands were too remote from its own fields of enterprise to excite its attention. But a time came when the Company exerted an influence, and an injurious influence, on the fortunes of the young colony of New South Wales and its dependency, Tasmania.

When Pope Alexander VI in 1493 issued his famous Bull, boldly drawing an imaginary line from the North to the South Pole a hundred leagues west of the Azores, and with a lordly gesture decreed that the Spaniards and the Portuguese should have proprietary rights over all undiscovered territories, the one nation, the Portuguese, to the east and the other to the west of that line, those two powerful nations might well have supposed that the mandate of their spiritual master would hold good for all time. And when, in 1580, Spain annexed Portugal, the right of possession in all the wealth to be drawn from exploitation of the vast territories involved must have seemed doubly secure to the proud and cruel Spanish King, Philip II (1527–1598). Little could his subjects have deemed it possible that two insignificant northern European peoples—" pirates of the sea," as they were called by the Spaniards, were soon to dispute and later on to wrest from them the vast monopoly which their overlord, with his unbounded ambition, had secured for them.

Two events showed to the Dutch the necessity and the possibility of securing for themselves the advantages of the lucrative trade with India and the Spice Islands of the Malay Archipelago. Before they were brought under subjection by Spain in 1580 the Portuguese, preferring in their own interests to carry on the eastern trade, had been content to allow the Dutch merchants to act as distributors of the imported products throughout northern Europe. The Spaniards had followed the same course. But after the union of Portugal with his own country the Spanish King decided to deprive his Dutch subjects of this subordinate but important traffic. By this act " The Spanish monarch himself suggested to his rebellious subjects the idea of becoming his rivals in the commercial markets of Asia."

When in 1588 " The Invincible Armada " was defeated by the English the Dutch perceived that their opportunity had arrived. The conclusions they drew from these two notable actions, the one directed against themselves, the other decided against their national enemies, proved to be correct. They underestimated, however, if they did not scorn, the chances of

successful competition by the English, who were equally determined to break down the barriers with which the Spanish and Portuguese sought to prevent intrusion into their rich eastern preserves. In point of time the English led the way by several years in the great and bitter struggle that then began.

After an unsuccessful attempt to find a sea route to the East by a passage along the northern coasts of Russia and Asia, whereby they hoped to escape possible molestation by their enemies, the Dutch merchants made up their minds to take the risk of sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. The first expedition, which left Holland in 1595, was placed in charge of Cornelis Van Houtman, and returned after many trials and losses two years later, but with a sufficient reward in the shape of valuable cargo to warrant further effort, and with a treaty made with the Sultan of Bantam, a port west of Batavia, the present capital of Java. Unwittingly the adventurous spirits who thus planted for the first time the Dutch flag in the East Indies carried with them some of the seed from which sprang in after years the foundations of what is now the Commonwealth of Australia.

In 1602, when already sixty merchantmen had been dispatched round the Cape, individual and competitive ventures were consolidated by the formation of the Dutch East India Company, representative of the whole community. The management was placed in the hands of a Board of Control of seventeen members at Amsterdam, with local bodies to direct the home trade. In 1608 the first Governor-General was appointed. To this high official, assisted by a council, was entrusted the supervision and control of affairs in the East, and by 1619 his head-quarters were firmly established at Batavia. The charter granted by the States-General of the Netherlands was conceived in no niggardly spirit. It boldly bestowed on the company not only extensive home trading advantages, but functions which approximated those of a sovereign power. These included a monopoly of trade in the East, power to raise and maintain land and sea forces to guard its interests, authority to erect forts for a similar purpose, and even a warrant to negotiate treaties with native powers and to make war for the assertion of all such rights. Armed with such a mandate, acting with the good will and encouragement of its home government, and backed by the resources of the well-to-do merchants of Holland, at that time the principal centre of European commerce, the Company entered upon its career of aggression and expansion with a heartiness and a cold calculated policy that were bound to ensure a considerable amount of success. The keynote of the whole scheme was " Monopoly ". To foreign foes, Portuguese, Spanish, and English, were added any Dutch

merchants who ventured into the Malay Archipelago for trading purposes, and a Governor-General did not hesitate to seize and confiscate ships belonging to his own countrymen which in his view were intruding on the sacred rights of the Company. The Portuguese were the first to suffer from this plan of attack, and their resistance was gradually worn down until in 1641 the capture by the Dutch of Malacca, considered the " key of the Malay Archipelago ", destroyed the remnants of their influence in the Spice Islands. The establishment of a footing in Ceylon was also a constant threat to the Portuguese established there and to their stations on the mainland. The Spaniards were too firmly entrenched in the Philippines to be overcome, though they had to submit to many hard onslaughts upon their outposts at the hands of the hardy Netherlanders. The last of these took place in 1648, when Commander Tasman was in charge of the Dutch fleet.

It was, however, with the English East India Company that the keenest and longest struggle for supremacy was to take place. The two races had sufficient characteristics in common to make it impossible for either to bow easily to adversity or temporary defeat. The aims of both were identical, trade monopoly and rich profits. At the outset the Dutch were in the superior position. They were better supplied than their adversaries with ships and working capital. Their grim fight for independence against the Spaniards during the Eighty Years War (which began in 1568) had taught them to be hard, unyielding and unscrupulous. Cruelties inflicted on them, and the reprisals to which these gave birth when opportunities arose, had dulled their sense of justice and of proportion. And in their dealings with native races it came to be said of them " they gave too little and asked too much ".

The English Company was handicapped by its charter, granted in 1600 by Queen Elizabeth, in that while it was given exclusive trading rights in such places east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan, " where any traffic may be used ", it was vested only with the power of purchasing lands without limit in the East. Armed forces and fortified stations, essential aids to safe trading, were a later development. Moreover, the small capital subscribed in early ventures did not permit of such insurance against adversity. It was oftentimes insufficient for bare trading. In addition to other difficulties the " merchant adventurers " were troubled with " interlopers ", fellow countrymen who by hook or crook secured some right to compete for trade. Small wonder is it, therefore, that in the fight for supremacy in the Malay Archipelago, the region selected by the Nether-

landers as their firm base of operations, the English, in spite of their efforts, gradually lost ground. In proportion as they consolidated their position on the mainland, that is, in Hindustan, so did they meet with greater success, and achieve by steady growth and a sure instinct for diplomacy and rule, more equal terms with their confirmed enemies. A permanent feature of this contest was that no matter how the two nations might be engaged in Europe, at peace or at war, only one relation was understood in the East, unrestricted hostility. The representatives of the Companies did not fail to express the views they held of their antagonists with the greatest frankness when writing to their chiefs in Europe. Coen, harsh, relentless and implacable foe of the English, when advised by his Directors to keep on good terms with that people, replied "that this could not be done unless the Dutch should leave not only India but the whole earth; friendship with the English", he declared, "meant the total ruin of the Company."

English opinion about their rivals was no less strong. "Those rascals, the Dutch, will not let us trade, notwithstanding our rights here are equal to theirs", was the report to his masters of one of the Company's servants. A petition to King James by the Company drew his attention to "the efforts of the Hollanders to dispose them by force out of many places in the East", and "to their most outrageous behaviour as any mortal enemies could do", also to "the unjust seizure of the Company's ships and their boast that they will take from the English all the trade of the East".

It is doubtful, however, if Coen, even with his impelling ambition to see his Company "solitary and supreme in the East", would have countenanced, had he been able to foresee its effects, the atrocity which took place in 1623, and known as the "Amboyna Massacre", described by a recent historian as "one of the most depraved and desperate plots in the annals of history". A treaty had been made in Europe in 1619 which gave some faint hopes that the two Companies should share without warfare in the Eastern trade. Such an arrangement did not suit Coen, determined to make the whole of the East a close Dutch preserve. Acting under the treaty the English Company established factories in Amboyna, in the Moluccas and at Banda. For the furtherance of his policy of extermination Coen was well served by his Deputy-Governor, van Speult. This is not the place for a detailed account of what occurred. It is sufficient to state that the eighteen English victims, two only of whom were allowed by the Dutch to live on, were officials of the English Company, engaged in discharging their ordinary duties as servants of that Company, and

that the vile plot was conceived and carried out for trade advantage. If it had been a case of open warfare and fair fighting, or if the rivalry had been decently conducted, the English would have raised no objection, but this judicial murder, "without parallel even in the grim records of the Spanish Inquisition", was blackened in their eyes by some of the most hateful tortures invented by man. The story of the massacre was received in England with the greatest indignation, but it was not till 1654, when Cromwell was Protector, that some slight reparations, including a small payment to the heirs of those who had suffered at Amboyna, were exacted from the Dutch for the wrongs they had inflicted on the English Company.

The policy so forcibly pursued by the Netherlanders was extended to every region in the East where there was the slightest opening for trade. The local port-to-port traffic was highly lucrative. From the Red Sea to Japan, from Sumatra to New Guinea every important harbour and island that held out prospect of commerce was exploited, and a factory or collecting post set up in suitable places where a footing could be obtained.

In spite of losses and reverses the Dutch Company enjoyed for seventy years after its creation such a prosperity as should have satisfied the most timid holders of its stock. Towards the end of the seventeenth century the strong position of the Company began to give way, and the state of its affairs gradually grew worse until 1798, when it became bankrupt and was dissolved. Among the reasons given for this decadence are the too great adherence on the part of the home directorate to the rigid system of monopoly on which the Company was founded, private trading on the part of its own servants, always ill paid, and successful smuggling by trade rivals. But perhaps the chief cause of weakness was the absorption of profits for the maintenance of the Company's ever growing expenses as a sovereign power, in spite of the tribute money exacted from the native races as these fell under the power of the Dutch.

The English East India Company was enabled by the development of its operations, the importance of the conquests it made on the mainland of Asia, and by the growth of that sea-power, of that "realm of the circling sea", upon which the British Empire must always depend, to continue its existence long after its Dutch rival had succumbed. It was not until 1854 that the English Company came to its fitting end. It had outlived its utility as a pioneer of trade, and was compelled to accept the inevitable transference of its quasi-sovereign power to the rightful authority, represented by the Crown and the Imperial Parliament. The story of the English Company is filled with its many troubles,

foreign and domestic, its difficulties in obtaining renewals of the charter, the vexations caused by interlopers, and the constant losses by sea and land. It calls forth admiration for the indomitable pluck of the "Merchant Adventurers" of London, the loyalty and bravery of their officials in the East. A never-failing stream of youth, of manhood, flowed in that direction, filling up the gaps caused by climate, disease, or violent death. No matter if the pay was indifferent and the prizes only to be realized by the few the supply of volunteers remained abundant. The magnetic power that was to draw the adventurous spirits of England in a steady current to another point of the compass, that is to the Great South Land, had not yet begun to exert its force.

In the rapid review of the two great chartered companies that has been given only the main features of their activities have been touched upon. It is a significant fact that it was only during the first forty-two years of the career of the Dutch Company that its association with Australia was of any importance whatever. The achievements of Tasman were, indeed, the culminating effort of the Dutch in the southern seas. The vain ambition of Van Diemen, like that of his predecessor Coen, was to rule supreme from the Cape of Good Hope to Cape Horn. Tasman's supreme efforts, valuable as they were, in no wise contributed to any fruition of such a dream. It was, however, due to the zeal of the Dutch, and of that people alone of all European nations, that some precise and authoritative knowledge of extensive stretches of Australian coast accrued to the navigators of the world in the seventeenth century. To them must be given full credit for the charting of the northern, western, and part of the southern shores, more than half of the continental seaboard.

It was in 1606 that the Dutch first came into contact with any part of the coast of Australia. They fitted out a small ship or yacht called the *Duyfken*, and sent her forth on a voyage of discovery. She sailed along the south coast of New Guinea, and approached but failed to detect the Strait which, by a strange coincidence, was discovered in the same year by Luiz Valz de Torres and now bears his name. In a geographical sense this feat of Torres, which was not published till the succeeding century (1762), was tarnished by the screen of silence thrown over it by his masters, the Spanish. The *Duyfken* sailed southwards along the east coast of the gulf, afterwards named the Gulf of Carpentaria, in honour of one of the Governors-General, as far as Cape Keerweer (Turn Again), and then returned to Bantam.

Not many years after the Dutch Company started its operations an important advance in navigation was made at the suggestion of one its expert commanders, Hendrik Brouwer. He found that

the voyage from the Cape of Good Hope to Java could be considerably shortened by running east for some 3,000 miles along the 36th degree of latitude, whereby favouring winds were obtained, and then turning northwards for the Straits of Sunda. This was in 1611. Hitherto ships had passed through the Mozambique Channel and been detained at sea for months by baffling winds, calms, and the difficulties of navigation in the shoals and islands of that route to Java. (Plate 3.) Any shortening of the voyage contributed to the health of the crew and to saving of expense, and the Company accordingly ordered its commanders to adopt the new sea course ; it was not long before these sailing instructions bore unexpected fruit. In 1616 certain ships made the voyage from Holland to the East. One of these, under the command of Skipper Dirk Hartogszoon, who was in charge of the fleet, sailing " far more south than was customary ", arrived off the coast of Australia in the vicinity of Shark's Bay. The commander landed on the island which now bears his name, and fastened to a tree a metal plate recording his discovery. The country in the vicinity was given the name " Eendracht Land ", in honour of the first ship to arrive in that part of the world. Later on other ships visited the same district, and in 1618 the crew of one of them, the *Mauritius*, discovered and named the Willems River, which is probably the present Ashburton River. This Willems River continued to be a notable point with the Company, and it is mentioned in the instructions issued to Tasman on his second voyage, 1644. It was to be the terminal station if he succeeded in sailing round the continent. In 1619 two vessels, the *Dordrecht* and the *Amsterdam*, part of a fleet of eleven ships under the command of Frederik Houtman, one Jacob Dedel being the supercargo of the *Amsterdam*, reached a point as far south as the present Fremantle. This voyage resulted in two place names, Houtman's Abrolhos, some small islands which were afterwards the scene of a disastrous wreck, that of the *Batavia*, and Dedel's Land or Edel's Land. An important addition to geographical knowledge was made in 1622 when the ship *Leeuwin* (the Lioness) made the coast at the south-west angle of Australia, and gave its name to that well-known coastal landmark.

The field of fresh exploratory work was now shifted to the north. Two ships, the *Pera* and *Arnhem*, were sent out from Batavia in 1623 under Commander Jan Carstens. They sailed along the south coast of New Guinea and then moved south as far as 17 degrees south latitude, near the Staten River, which falls into the Gulf of Carpentaria. This expedition also failed to note Torres Strait. The ships then became separated, and the *Arnhem* on her return voyage probably discovered what was

afterwards called Arnhem's Land. A notable advance in the delineation of coast line resulted in 1627 from the voyage of the *Gulden Zeepaard*, the skipper of which was one Francois Thijszoon. There is no evidence to show whether this ship was driven eastwards by stormy weather or whether a deliberate and ambitious attempt at discovery was designed on her arrival at Cape Leeuwin, but as she had on board a member of the local council, Pieter Nuyts, it is quite possible that the second explanation of the event is correct. This vessel traversed the south coast from Cape Leeuwin as far as the eastern side of the great Australian Bight, giving the names, St. Francois and St. Pieter, to two islands situated there, and the name Nuyts' Land to that part of the mainland forming the Bight. For many years to come those two islands formed the advanced station of nautical progress on the southern ocean boundary of the continent. It is surprising indeed that they were not used as a starting-point for new and original work on Tasman's first voyage.

In the following year Commander Gerit De Witt gave his name to a coastal district near the Willems River. His ship, the *Vianen*, returning from Batavia to Holland, was driven by head winds out of her course, and reached the Australian seaboard about latitude 21°, not far from the site of the modern settlement of Cossack. After this event there was a pause for a few years, and it was not till 1636 that the coast was visited. Two ships, the *Amsterdam* and the *Wesel*, under Gerrit Pool and Pieter Pieterzoon, made a voyage in New Guinea and Australian waters. Pool was murdered by New Guinea natives. His colleague, passing along the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and sailing west, seems to have reached as far as Cape Van Diemen, on Melville Island, naming a district on the mainland after the Governor-General. Tasman's second voyage, in 1644, already referred to, set the final seal on Dutch discovery.

From Cape York to the Islands St. Francis and St. Peter in the Bight the East India Company had thus roughly marked out the Australian coast line. The work performed was in no sense a series of marine surveys, for the mercantile captains had neither the time, nor is it probable that they were provided with any facilities, for operations of a precise nature. Deep indentations in the coast were not investigated, nor were inland expeditions undertaken to penetrate beyond the forbidding coastal fringe along which the ships sailed. These facts are stated, not to detract from the value of the discoveries made, but in order that their true character may be appreciated. Even of Tasman the Governor-General, when reporting to the home authorities the results of his first voyage, felt called upon to state that:

"We have, however, observed that the said commander has been somewhat remiss in investigating the situation, conformation and nature of the lands discovered, and of the natives inhabiting the same, and as regards the main point has left everything to be more closely enquired into by more industrious successors."

Tasman had in fact "failed to ascertain whether the regions discovered might become of importance for the Company's trade".

"We are left entirely ignorant", wrote the Governor-General after Tasman's second voyage, "what the soil of this south land produces or contains, since the men have done nothing but sail along the coast; he who wants to find out what the land yields must walk over it in every direction, the voyagers pretend this to have been out of their power, which may to some extent be true. We intend to have everything closely investigated by more vigilant and courageous persons than have hitherto been employed in this service, for the exploration of unknown regions can by no means be entrusted to the first comer."

That the Dutch commanders were extremely cautious in the conduct of their explorations cannot be gainsaid. With regard to one important geographical feature they carried this prudence to an excess which has the appearance of timidity. It may be that the pains and penalities attached to the loss of a ship, apart from the very real dangers from hostile savages in the event of a disaster, account for this, but the repeated failure to discover a passage through the Strait between Australia and New Guinea, the existence of which was always held by the Council at Batavia to be highly probable, must remain as a reproach upon their work as investigators of new territories.

Of the many place-names allotted during their voyages by the early merchant seamen of the Netherlands some have persisted through the intervening years down to present times. The shores of those parts of Australian coasts are now in a maritime sense opened up and marked with the names bestowed on them by more recent navigators and by marine surveyors, British and French, a natural sequence of more precise and scientific methods. Nevertheless it may fairly be hoped that such Dutch nomenclature as has survived the contest will be allowed to remain, as in the case of names on the Tasmanian southern coast, to be permanent memorials of early Dutch exploratory effort.

Mention must be made of the visits of the Englishman, William Dampier, to the north-west coast of Australia. It happened twice in the career of that remarkable man, seafaring adventurer, buccaneer, discoverer and author, that he came to that forbidding land, finding little enough to attract him on each occasion, though his observations concerning it were not without value. It was

as an ordinary member of a buccaneering crew that he first fell in with New Holland. This was in January 1688, and his ship, which anchored near King Sound, remained there for two months. Dampier made notes of everything he saw during this time, especially about the natives, " the Miserablest People in the world ", with their blinking eyelids always half closed to keep the flies out of their eyes, and with " two fore teeth of the upper jaw wanting in all of them, men and women ". We shall hear something more about this latter custom amongst natives later on.

When Dampier next visited the coast in August 1699, he occupied a very different position, for he was now an officer of the English Navy, and had command of the *Roebuck*, a ship sent out on a voyage of discovery. He made his landfall near Shark's Bay, and made some examination of that inlet, and gave it the name it bears. " Of the sharks ", he wrote, " we caught a great many, which our men eat very savourily ", but of the " guanos " (iguanas), as food, " although he had eaten snakes, crocodiles and allegators, and many creatures that look frightfully enough ", he had the poorest opinion, on account of " the looks and smell of them being so offensive ". Sailing northwards, though seeing little of the coast, he came to the archipelago now bearing his name, and anchored at various places, always looking for fresh water, but finding none, except some not too brackish to be used in the sailors' " burgoo ". The island called Rosemary is one that is thought to have been so named by him. One matter of interest was a theory evolved by Dampier, from the height and strength of the tides experienced in that region, that there must be a passage or " streight " running through the continent eastwards to the great southern sea. This idea of a strait through Australia persisted for many years. After a month spent on the coast Dampier passed on to Timor, and later made his discovery of the strait between New Guinea and New England. Some of the Australian plants collected and described by him are now at Oxford.

CHAPTER III

CAPTAIN COOK'S FIRST VOYAGE, 1768–1771

"WELL may Englishmen be proud that this greatest of navigators was their countryman."

Thus wrote the Hydrographer of the British Admiralty (Captain Wharton) in 1893 of Captain James Cook, proving, more than a century after his death, that the great naval department, the body most capable of estimating his work, had seen no reason for altering the verdict of an earlier age. So too may Tasmanians be proud that Cook is associated, as will be told in its proper place, with the early annals of the Island. It would be beyond our scope to insert here a lengthy account of this remarkable man's career, but the full meaning of it will be missed unless some outline is given, for this sailor-man, by his conduct of three voyages in southern seas and his discoveries there, made history in a manner that it has not been given to others to do. Moreover, by his example he showed what may be accomplished within the bounds of the British Empire and its world-wide activities by a man who, starting from the humblest station, handicapped by lack of education, of means and of influence, steadily moves forward with confidence, determination and perseverance to overcome every difficulty, to equip himself thoroughly for the performance of all duties entrusted to him, and to improve by intelligent thought the means by which they may be carried out.

Cook was born in 1728 at Marton, about four miles south of Middlesbrough in Yorkshire. His father was a farm labourer, and the lad received a little elementary teaching in the village school. At the age of 12 he was apprenticed to a storekeeper at Staithes, a fishing village on the Yorkshire coast. Here he found that his real inclination was towards a sailor's life, and when his indentures were cancelled by arrangement he was bound to a firm of Whitby shipowners, engaged in the coal trade of the North Sea. No better training school could have been found for the future world navigator. The hardships of life in a collier, with its coarse food and bad accommodation, tested his resolution and taught him endurance, while the lessons in practical seaman-

ship, acquired under such rough conditions and in frequently stormy seas, prepared him for the more important duties that were to be imposed on him in the time to come. This lasted for thirteen years, and in 1755, at the age of 27, although he had risen to be mate of a vessel, he elected to leave his employment and to volunteer for the Navy, rather than run the risk of being pressed into that service. To a man of Cook's genius, conscious of what those thirteen years had wrought in him, conscious too of sheer ability within himself for higher things, that step, though its immediate effect was to enrol him as an able seaman on H.M.S. *Eagle*, 60 guns, was a step forward. War with France (afterwards called the Seven Years War) had begun, and Cook doubtless recognized that individuals with his knowledge and tact in dealing with men would be urgently required. Captain Hugh Palliser, a Yorkshireman, who was in command of the *Eagle*, soon recognized Cook's worth, and helped him in his career. On the return of the ship from American waters he was appointed Master of the *Mercury*, which took part in General Wolfe's operations against Quebec in 1759. Cook distinguished himself greatly by his work in taking soundings in the river St. Lawrence to assist the movements of the Fleet on that occasion. Afterwards he was employed in making surveys of the river from Quebec to the sea, and for many years his charts remained in use for the navigation of that waterway. It is not surprising that Canadians have shown their appreciation of Cook's merit by adding to their national possessions any personal records of his connection with their country that might be acquired.

We must listen again to the authoritative words of Wharton :

"Cook was indeed a born surveyor. Before his day charts were of the crudest description, and he must have somehow acquired a considerable knowledge of trigonometry, and possessed an intuitive faculty for practically applying it, to enable him to originate, as it may truly be said he did, the art of modern marine surveying."

Cook's work as a marine surveyor had indeed marked him out for further employment of that nature, and in 1762, as Master of the *Northumberland*, he was engaged in survey work in Newfoundland. In that year he returned to England to be married, but was soon recalled to the new colony, where he continued till 1767, part of this time under Captain Graves, the Governor of Newfoundland, and then under his old chief and friend, Captain Palliser, who succeeded Graves in 1764. It was characteristic of the man that during those years, when engaged on the charting of the Newfoundland and Labrador coasts, he sought by private study of mathematics and astronomy to perfect his knowledge and to render himself completely fitted for navigational observa-

tions of a scientific order. That this high intention bore early fruit is shown by the fact that his charts of that period had not altogether been put aside, in favour of those of later date, at the end of the nineteenth century.

The time and the opportunity for Cook to be placed in independent command as leader of an expedition, to become explorer, discoverer and circumnavigator, were now hastening to meet this experienced and accomplished sailor. In 1768 the Royal Society was extremely desirous that observations of the Transit of Venus across the sun's disc should be made in the following year. The best positions for this astronomical work being situated in the Pacific, the Society succeeded in inducing the Government to provide a well-equipped ship and staff for the purpose. After full consideration Cook was the man selected by the Admiralty to lead the expedition, and further to mark its appreciation of his qualifications he was granted a commission as a Lieutenant, and it was as a Naval Officer of that rank that he took over charge. It was in reality, as custom ran in those days, high honour for a self-made man like Cook to be charged thus with such a responsible office. The Admiralty, however, had in view a larger programme than that entailed by the Transit of Venus. Up to that date no scientific expedition had been dispatched to the Southern Pacific, where, as it was still supposed, a great unknown land awaited discovery, and it was recognized that the time had arrived for widely extended explorations of a first-rate kind in that little known quarter of the globe. The scientific staff consisted of Mr. Banks, afterwards Sir Joseph Banks, who was a botanist of private means and volunteered for this service; Dr. Solander, a Swedish naturalist, attached to the British Museum, and Mr. Charles Green, an assistant of the Royal Observatory, who was the astronomer of the party. In later years, Banks, when President of the Royal Society, was closely associated with the settlement and development of New South Wales as a colony.

Cook's instructions were to proceed by the western route to Tahiti, where the transit was to be observed; he was then to proceed south to latitude 40°, to sail westward, and after exploring the coasts of New Zealand to return to Europe by such route as he might think desirable. Plate 3 shows how the navigator interpreted these orders.

The choice of a ship best suited for such a voyage was of the utmost importance, and the Admiralty wisely allowed Cook to use his own discretion. His thoughts reverted to a type of vessel he had known so well in earlier years, the flat-bottomed and slow-sailing Whitby collier, which nevertheless possessed qualities peculiarly fitted for the work now in hand. A stoutly built ship

of 370 tons was purchased by the Admiralty and fitted out at one of the Naval dockyards, receiving the name of H.M.S. *Endeavour*.

That Cook, in addition to his professional ability, was endowed with qualifications fitting him in no ordinary degree for his new post, was proved by his co-operation in the preparations made to combat scurvy on the long voyage that lay before him, and by the success that attended his never-failing personal efforts to guard against it. This scourge of the sea had hitherto crippled the work of explorers, and prevented them from securing the full fruits of achievement that but for it might otherwise have been attained. To Cook is due the credit of demonstrating in two voyages, each about three years in duration, and at a time when anti-scorbutics were in an experimental stage of development, and the disease itself little understood, that it might be warded off and a ship's crew kept fit for its duties.

The *Endeavour* put to sea from Plymouth on the 25th of August 1768, and after calling at Madeira and Rio de Janeiro boldly faced the difficulties of sailing round Cape Horn rather than run the risk of tedious delays in a passage through Magellan Strait. On the 26th of January 1769, Cook sailed into the Southern Pacific Ocean to encounter the dangers and trials known and unknown that lay before him. To him was given the task in that and in succeeding years of traversing that mighty expanse of waters in such manner as had never before been accomplished, to place upon the charts of his country the outlines of numberless islands, of a dominion, and of part of a continent, and, as a strange feature of his purposeful sea-courses, to sweep away that great unknown south land, the existence of which had persisted as an accepted reality and even as a necessity up to his own time (Plate 3).

Cook was well received by the natives of Tahiti, the largest of the Society Islands, which was discovered by Wallis, in the *Dolphin*, in 1767. He anchored (13th April) not far from the spot where the principal port of the island, Papeete, now stands, and preparations were at once made for the astronomical observations, but as a first step rules were issued to the ship's company for the cultivation of friendship with the natives, for their proper treatment, and for a uniform system of barter. A piece of ground was selected and fortified by embankments and ditches for the protection of the instruments. When these were set up instruction in their use was given to those who were to assist in the observations. Before the great day two parties under the two lieutenants, Gore and Hicks, were sent off to outlying stations, equipped with instruments to take independent observations of the transit. Cook's record of the event in his journal is as follows :

"Saturday, 3rd June, 1769. This day proved as favourable to

our purpose as we could wish. Not a cloud was to be seen the whole day, and the air was perfectly clear, so that we had every advantage we could desire in observing the whole of the Passage of the planet Venus over the Sun's Disk. We very distinctly saw an Atmosphere or Dusky shade over the body of the planet, which very much disturbed the times of the Contact, particularly the two internal ones."

In the middle of July Cook left Tahiti, but before turning southward completed his charts of the islands known as the Society Islands, some of these being his own discoveries. He had moreover completed his initiation into prudent methods of dealing with native races in the Pacific. Always tactful and considerate in his relations with those under him he sought by similar means to gain the goodwill of the islanders, and by a display of sincere friendship, combined with firmness of bearing, to create in their minds a desire to imitate the example set by him. If Cook possessed a sense of humour it was of the driest quality, and he did not allow it to flow into his journal. There he tells without a smile, as it were, how at one of the islands visited he and the Chief solemnly exchanged names, and afterwards addressed each other accordingly.

Proceeding to 40° south latitude he bore away for New Zealand. On the 8th of October 1769, he anchored in Poverty Bay, in the North Island, on which the town of Gisborne now stands, and then began the second great achievement of the voyage, the circumnavigation of New Zealand. Running south for a few days Cook determined at Cape Turnagain to retrace his steps and move in the other direction. Traversing and charting the coast he anchored at convenient spots, obtaining water and firewood, interviewing the Maoris and conducting a barter with them for fish and such other food—little enough—as they had to offer. On the 9th November at Mercury Bay, Green observed the Transit of Mercury across the sun's disc, and this event gave its name to the bay. Here Cook cut the ship's name and the date on a tree, and took formal possession of the land in the name of His Majesty. Towards the end of the same month he was in the Bay of Islands, where Marion was murdered a little over two years later, as will be narrated in the next chapter. Doubling the north part of the island the ship now ran south and then anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the north coast of South Island. Here on the 22nd of January 1770, from the top of a hill, Cook discovered the strait between the two islands that now bears his name, and a marked post was set up, and a second official annexation, in this case of the South Island, took place.

Sailing through the newly found strait Cook ran north to Cape Turnagain, partly to convince some of his doubting officers by making a full circuit of the North Island, and partly with a

desire for thoroughness that was characteristic of him. He then turned south and sailed round the South Island, arriving at Admiralty Bay, near Queen Charlotte's Sound, on the 26th March 1770. Thus in less than six months he had circumnavigated New Zealand. He had in fact, to use an ice-skater's expression, described " a figure of 8 " round its shores (Plate 3). Wherever possible he had landed and carried on a fairly successful and friendly intercourse with the Maoris. In this he was undoubtedly aided by the good work of Tupia. This man was a priest of Tahiti, who for political reasons found it expedient to leave his country at the time when Cook, having finished his work at the Society Islands, was about to depart, and offered the native a passage. This inclusion of Tupia in the ship's company had the best results, for on arrival at New Zealand it was found that he could converse with the Maoris, this circumstance proving that, in accordance with their traditions, these people were descended from a South Sea island race. " Tupia always accompanies us ", wrote Cook, " in every Excursion we make, and proves of infinite Service." There can be little doubt, therefore, that but for this man's efforts the tale of Cook's association with the savages would have been far otherwise than is recorded, and to him due credit should be given.

The time had now arrived for an important decision to be made : the route by which the *Endeavour* should return to Europe. Cook would have preferred to make the passage by way of Cape Horn, seeking in high latitudes for the Southern Continent, but in consultation with his officers he decided that the condition of the ship, in every respect, was not sufficient for such an undertaking. A direct return by the Cape of Good Hope offering no opportunity for fresh discovery, the chief consideration ever present in Cook's mind, it was resolved to steer westward and to explore the east coast of New Holland. Accordingly the *Endeavour* sailed from Cape Farewell on the 31st of March 1770, being then in latitude 40° 30′ south.

The decision of Cook on this occasion held within it germs of future development the importance of which he could hardly have foreseen. It is, however, natural to express some surprise at the route selected by him for the first stage of the new undertaking. It was part of his system to work from the known to the unknown, to proceed from fixed points when surveying new regions, so that there should be continuity and thoroughness in his completed work. In such fashion he had now charted the coast lines of New Zealand. In 1642 Tasman had sailed away from Van Diemen's Land in latitude 41° 34′ south (near St. Patrick's Head), and it is to that point that one would suppose

that Cook would have set his course, to link up his new work with that of his predecessor in that region (Plate 3). Had he adopted this route it is reasonable to believe that he would have discovered the strait separating Tasmania and Australia and that it would not now be honoured by bearing the name of Bass. (2)

On the 19th of April 1770, the *Endeavour* arrived off the south-east coast of Australia (Plate 6). "The Southermost point of land we had in sight", wrote Cook, "I have named Point Hicks, because Lieutenant Hicks was the first who discover'd this Land." A heavy gale on the two previous days contributed to the whole mischance which carried Cook to the north and not to the south of Bass Strait. From the trend of the coast he had now made a doubt entered his mind whether the two countries were one land or not, but with his settled scheme in hand nothing remained but to proceed north. On the 28th of April Cook sailed his ship into Botany Bay and made his first landing on Australian soil.

"We found here a few small hutts made of the Bark of Trees, in one of which were 4 or 5 small children with whom we left some strings of beads, etc. A quantity of Darts lay about the Hutts; these we took away with us. 3 Canoes lay upon the beach, the worst I think I ever saw; they were about 12 or 14 feet long, made of one piece of the Bark of a Tree, drawn or tied up at each end, and the middle kept open by means of pieces of stick by way of Thwarts."

Of the natives he recorded later:

"We could know but very little of their Customs, as we never were able to form any Connections with them; they had not so much as touch'd the things we had left in their Hutts on purpose for them to take away. During our stay in this Harbour I caused the English Colours to be display'd ashore every day, and an inscription to be cut out upon one of the Trees near the Watering place, setting forth the Ship's Name, Date, etc."

The ship put to sea on the 7th of May and sailed north. "At Noon we were in the Latitude of 33° 50′ S., about 2 or 3 Miles from the Land, and abreast of a Bay, wherein there appear'd to be safe Anchorage, which I called Port Jackson. It lies 3 leagues to the Northward of Botany Bay." Thus, while giving a name to the wonderful harbour upon which Sydney now stands, he who would so much have appreciated its possibilities and beauty as a port was denied a view of it by a fate which, here as elsewhere, unkindly robbed him of some part of a discoverer's reward. Sailing along the coast with favourable winds, Cook made the first marine survey of its full extent with all the ardour of a trained and enthusiastic explorer, carefully charting its outlines and bestowing names on its principal features. These

(2) Note.

names happily remain to the present day as descriptive of their natural formation, or as commemorating notable men and officials connected with Cook's period and the service to which he belonged. With consummate skill he threaded his way between innumerable islands and islets, and past dangerous shoals and detached coral ledges, after he arrived at the latitude where the Great Barrier Reef begins. His feat in picking out a way for his sailing vessel through the maze of that remarkable feature of the Queensland coast, which has well been called " one of the wonders of the Universe ", is exhibited in a strong light when it is considered that, even in these days of steam, lighthouses and marked channels, the Barrier calls for vigilant and cautious navigation by expert pilots.

Notwithstanding the intense carefulness of their chief the ship's company, on two occasions, were to face the dangers of complete shipwreck and its consequent disasters. On the 10th of June, not far from the present site of Cooktown, the *Endeavour* ran on a coral reef and was held fast for nearly twenty-four hours before she could be floated off. It was fortunate for Cook that the weather was good, and that he found a small river, the Endeavour, where the ship could be grounded and her bottom repaired at low tides. It was not till the 4th of August that he could put to sea again, and he was glad to find a passage some days later through which to pass to the open sea outside the Barrier, and to bear north away from the intricate labyrinth of shoals that had barred his further progress near the coast. He was now approaching the north-east point of Australia, and " being fearful of overshooting the passage, supposing there to be one, between this land and New Guinea ", he edged along the Barrier Reef, hoping to find a channel through which he might pass to the coast. It was on 16th August that the worst danger befell, when the ship was driven by the sea towards destruction on the reef, without a breath of wind to sail her off the breakers. The boats were manned to tow the ship off the reef, which were at one time as near as 100 yards.

" The same sea that washed the side of the ship rose in a breaker prodigiously high the very next time it did rise, . . . we had hardly any hopes of saving the ship, and full as little our lives, as we were full 10 Leagues from the nearest Land, and the boats not sufficient to carry the whole of us ; yet in this Truly Terrible Situation not one man ceased to do his utmost, and that with as much Calmness as if no danger had been near."

The tide rushing out of a very narrow opening carried the vessel a little away from the reef, and then, most fortunately, another opening was observed, and it was resolved to risk everything and to try to run through it. Assisted later by a flood tide and a light breeze the ship was taken into the narrow channel

and rapidly carried through it with a current running like a mill-race. For ten hours the ship had been in deadly peril and Cook's gratitude at its escape is well expressed :

" It is but a few days ago that I rejoiced at having got without the Reef ; but that joy was nothing when compared to what I now felt at being safe at an Anchor within it. Such are the Visissitudes attending this kind of Service, and must always attend an unknown Navigation where one steers wholly in the dark without any manner of guide whatever."

The narrow opening through which the ship had passed as by a miracle, from almost certain destruction to safety, was appropriately named by Cook " Providential Channel ".

On one incident of this perilous experience Wharton makes the following terse comment : " As a proof of the calmness which prevailed on board, it may be mentioned that when in the height of the danger, Mr. Green, Mr. Clerke, Mr. Forward the gunner, were engaged in taking a Lunar, to obtain the longitude." The picture of these men, conscious of disaster threatening their ship as she was carried by an uncontrollable force towards the breakers, yet quietly taking observations, necessary if the position of the barrier was to be fixed, and the results of which would never be worked out were the vessel to touch upon the coral reef, is one that must ever have its special place in the maritime records of the Empire. The fortitude, the strength of purpose and devotion to duty shown by Green and his assistants, reached during those thrilling moments the highest standards created, under numberless and diverse conditions, by so many men of British race. Green reported in his log that the observations were very good.

The culminating point of this great coast survey was now about to be reached, and on the 27th of August 1770, Cook sighted and named Cape York. He passed through and named Endeavour Strait, thus verifying the fact, proved by Torres in 1606, though it was not generally known or accepted, that Australia and New Guinea were separate countries. (3) One act he did not fail to carry out. This was the ceremony of taking formal possession in the name of His Majesty of the land he had traversed, calling it " South Wales ". This took place on Possession Island.

Having completed the work of his expedition, and completed it greatly, the navigator turned his face homewards. It was most necessary, however, to obtain refitment for the *Endeavour* and refreshment for his people, and Batavia was the nearest port for the double purpose, as the Dutch did not welcome the vessels of foreigners in their outlying stations. It was typical of the explorer's methods that a course should be chosen offering, without undue

(3) Note.

delay, some opportunity of making fresh surveys. He therefore coasted along the south-western part of New Guinea and then made for the Dutch East Indian capital, calling in at but one settlement, where he was able to purchase a small supply of fresh provisions.

The *Endeavour* arrived at Batavia early in October, and it was not until the end of December that she could leave that unwholesome port. The interval had been spent in repairs to the ship, now found to be in a worse condition than had been thought. Unfortunately that period of the year was the unhealthiest for ships to stay at Batavia, and the season was an exceptionally bad one. Heavy toll was taken by the climate of Cook's people, seven of whom died of dysentery, including the surgeon and Tupia, the Tahitian. Worse was to follow, for many others carried away with them from Java the germs of disease, and during the next two months on the voyage to the Cape twenty-three deaths occurred, the chief victim being Green, the astronomer. Banks was one of those attacked, but he recovered.

After staying about a month at the Cape, where he arrived with twenty-eight of his people on the sick-list, of whom four subsequently died, including Lieutenant Hicks, Cook departed for England and anchored in the Downs in the middle of July 1771. Thus ended the most successful voyage of discovery ever accomplished by man. It stands out, amongst achievements of its kind, for two reasons : the length of coast line of new countries explored and charted, and the fact that, owing to the leader's care, not one of the ship's company fell a victim to scurvy. It was not in Cook's power to avoid the unfortunate losses caused by dysentery, and due to the call at Java. It was a notable performance to have traversed and mapped 2,400 miles forming the coast line of New Zealand, and 2,000 miles on the east coast of Australia. Of the New Zealand work Wharton writes : " Never has a coast been so well laid down by a first explorer, and it must have required unceasing vigilance and continued observation, in fair weather and foul, to arrive at such a satisfactory conclusion." Of the survey of Australian shores the same writer reports in a similarly appreciative vein : " Cook's exploration of the coast was wonderful, and the charts attest the skill and unwearied pains taken in mapping it."

In this scheme Tasmania had no share. Opportunity and a chance for enterprise, gifts of fortune to a great master of his craft, as Cook undoubtedly was, had nevertheless been missed on this occasion. But the network of investigation and discovery, though failing to include the Island in its embrace, had drawn very near, and had made clearer what remained to be done, although a full quarter of a century was to pass before the final stage was reached.

CHAPTER IV

VOYAGE OF M. MARION DU FRESNE, 1771–1773

THE time at last arrived for the curtain of sleep so long enveloping the Island of Tasmania, and lifted for a moment by Tasman in 1642, when he charted its southern coasts and established their existence as geographical facts, to be finally swept aside after an interval of 130 years. The Dutch were always too heavily engaged elsewhere to follow up their initial successes as discoverers. The new age of progressive knowledge and advancement began in 1772, and it is to a Frenchman, who followed closely the course laid down by his predecessor, Tasman, that the credit is due for a renewed effort to throw light upon that still dark section of the surface of the globe.

For the first time in history the inhabitants of the island were to be brought into personal contact and conflict with a highly civilized white race : a process was to be started destined to have as its result a century later the total disappearance of the descendants of the Negrito race which ages before had moved down from the tropics and occupied the country. This preliminary clash of two opposing forces, the one strong and compelling, the other too ignorant and unskilled for any effectual resistance to an unwelcome innovation, formed the chief episode of the short visit paid by M. Marion during his expedition to the South Sea. Little else in the way of new discovery was accomplished, but Flinders, always generous in appreciation of the great work of other navigators, remarked that " the chart of Mons. Crozet, though on a very small scale, appears to possess a considerable degree of exactness in the form of the land. The wide opening called Storm Bay is distinctly marked, as is another bay to the westward with several small islands in it, the easternmost of which are the Boreel's Eylanden of Tasman ".

The circumstances under which this expedition was started were of an unusual kind. Monsieur Marion du Fresne happened in 1770 to be in the Isle of France (Mauritius), at that time a French possession. He had been in the French Navy, had attained the rank of Captain of a Fire-ship and had been made a

Chevalier of St. Louis. He was known to be a bold and skilful navigator, but he was ambitious to lead an expedition into the Southern Seas, and was looking for an opportunity to distinguish himself by a new voyage and to acquire glory by making fresh discoveries. By a stroke of good fortune the chance that he was seeking presented itself. The French Government had sent out to the Isle of France a native of Tahiti, whom the navigator de Bougainville had taken to France, and had instructed M. Poivre, the Intendant (Assistant-Governor) of the colony, to return the islander to his native country when an opportunity arose. Captain Marion offered to find the means for this transfer, but he asked that the ship he proposed to provide for the purpose should be strengthened by the addition of a Government store or supply vessel. Poivre gave his assent to this proposition, and the two ships, the *Mascarin*, which was owned by Marion, and the *Marquis de Castries*, the supply-ship lent by the governor, were equipped for the voyage, at Marion's expense. Officers and crews were engaged locally, and Marion selected as his lieutenant Monsieur Crozet, while the Chevalier Duclesmeur was placed in command of the other vessel. Poivre furnished the leader with full instructions and advice concerning the regions to be visited and the observations that should be made.

The two ships sailed from the Isle of France in October 1771, and called in at the Isle of Bourbon. Here the islander developed smallpox, and it was necessary, for fear of contagion, to leave port. This was the first of a series of unfortunate events that marked the voyage. The vessels put in at a bay in Madagascar, where the native died.

"The primary object of the expedition no longer existing," wrote Crozet, upon whose journal the published account of it was afterwards based, "perhaps it would have been more advisable to take the ships back to the Isle of France, in order that they might be otherwise employed, but the desire of making useful discoveries and of distinguishing himself by a new voyage overcame every other consideration in the mind of the ship-owner."

The ships accordingly sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, where provisions were purchased for a voyage of eighteen months. They left the Cape on the 28th of December 1771, and took a southerly course for high latitudes. During the following month two groups of barren islands were discovered and named by Marion. The first cluster, however, is now known as Prince Edward Islands, and one of them bears the discoverer's name. It was whilst coming to anchor near these that the two ships came into collision and were badly damaged, the *Mascarin* losing her

mizen-mast and the *Castries* her bow-sprit. This second misfortune seriously handicapped their movements and probably contributed to the tragedy which occurred later in New Zealand. The second group of islands has since been renamed the Crozets. All these forbidding rocks, uninhabitable by man, and rising from the ocean bed in an empty and desolate tract of the southern seas, seem designed for no other purpose than to furnish a resting-place and a breeding ground for innumerable birds, seals and sea-elephants.

Continuing his voyage Marion sighted the west coast of Tasmania a little north of Port Davey on the 3rd of March 1772. Crozet in his journal, apologizing for his own shortcomings as an observer, remarks :

" Seamen as a rule are not well enough educated to be able to bring back from their voyages exact information concerning the things offered for their inspection, some of them most interesting, in the countries they visit. Especially is this the case in new regions and amongst unknown races which they are the first to discover."

Thus Crozet's account of the experiences he and his countrymen had on the east coast of the island is not that of a scientific man, but it is valuable as the straightforward evidence of a sailor anxious to record, to the best of his ability, everything that he observed whilst the ships were anchored there. A translation of his narrative is given here in full :

" The chart that I have drawn of Diemen's Land will give an exact idea of the features of those parts and of the route we followed to the anchorage in the bay called by Abel Tasman ' Frederic Henry Bay ', which is situated, according to that navigator, in latitude 43″ 10′ south. When we had cast anchor in 22 fathoms, the bottom being of grey sand, the boats were lowered, and at once noticed some thirty men collected on shore. The aspect of the land in this part of New Holland was most promising, judging by the beauty of the country-side before us. The fires and smokes that we had seen day and night showed that the country must be well populated.

The following day ships boats and launches were sent ashore armed. Officers, soldiers and sailors landed without any opposition. The natives came forward without reluctance ; they collected some wood and made a kind of stack. They then gave some lighted dry boughs to the new-comers, and appeared to invite them to set the pile alight. We did not know the meaning of this ceremony and lit the heap of wood. The savages did not seem surprised ; they remained near us without making any show either of friendship or hostility ; they had with them their wives and children. Both men and women were of ordinary stature, in colour black, the hair woolly, and all were naked ; some of the women carried their children on their backs,

fastened with bands made of rushes. All the men were armed with pointed sticks and with some stones which appeared to have edges like the blades of axes.

We noticed that these savages had as a rule small eyes of a yellowish tint, wide mouths, teeth fairly white, and flat noses; their hair, like the wool of Kaffirs, was gathered in knotted rolls, and was powdered with red chalk. Several of them had on their chests lines cut into the skin and grown over. They seemed to us on the whole to be spare, fairly well made, with wide chests, and the shoulders thrown back. Their language sounded to us very harsh; they seemed to draw their words from the bottom of the throat.

We tried to win them over by small presents, but they scornfully refused everything that we offered to them, even iron, looking-glasses, handkerchiefs, and pieces of cloth. We showed them some fowls and ducks that had been brought from the vessel to make them understand that we wished to buy such things from them. They took these birds, which they showed were not known to them, and flung them away with angry looks.

We had been studying these savages for about an hour when M. Marion came ashore. One of them, separating from the group, gave him, as in the other case, a bundle of lighted sticks for him to set alight a little pile of wood. The Captain, thinking that it was some ceremony necessary to prove that he had come with peaceful intentions, lit the pile without delay, but it soon appeared that this meant just the reverse, and that the acceptance of the burning bundle meant the acceptance of a challenge or a declaration of war.

As soon as the stack of wood was lighted the savages retired quickly to a small hill, from which they hurled a shower of stones, wounding M. Marion and another officer with him. Some musket shots were at once fired at them, and all hands re-embarked. The ships' boats and launches drew along the coast, intending to land in the middle of an inlet where it was known that there was no high ground from which they could be interfered with. The natives then sent the women and children into the woods, and following the boats along the shore opposed the landing when our people attempted to disembark. One of them uttered a frightful cry, and immediately the whole body of them threw pointed sticks, one of which wounded a negro servant in the leg. The wound was not of great consequence, and the quickness with which it healed proved that these small wooden spears were not poisoned. When they had thrown their spears we replied with a discharge of musketry, wounding several and killing one of them. They fled at once into the woods with hideous yells; in their flight they carried away those who being wounded could not follow them. Fifteen men armed with muskets pursued them, and at the edge of the wood found one of the savages dying from the wound he had received. This man was five feet three inches high; he had his chest slashed like the Mozambique Kaffirs; he also appeared to be black, but on washing him it was seen that his natural colour was reddish, and it was only smoke and dirt which made him appear so dark.

After the flight of the savages M. Marion sent off two well-armed

companies, with officers, to look for fresh water and for timber suitable for spars for the *Castries*. These parties traversed two leagues of the country, without coming across either inhabitants, fresh water or trees fit for making masts.

We remained six days in Frederic Henry Bay, and during this time constant but fruitless search was made for drinking water. This part of the country is sandy, like the Cape of Good Hope, it is covered with heath and small trees, the greater number of which we found stripped of their bark by the savages, who use it for cooking their shell-fish. Everywhere there were traces of fire, and the country seemed to be covered with ashes. We noticed among all the barked trees, which were mostly burnt at the foot, a species of pine, not quite so tall as ours, which alone appeared to be well protected; apparently the savages put these to some use, and do not injure them as they do other trees; it is probable that by going further from the sea and penetrating into the interior of the country, one would find in the small valleys similar pines of a height and size suitable for the spars of ships.

In the parts that were not burnt the land was covered with grass, with ferns like those of Europe, with sorrel and wood-sorrel. Little game was met with, and it was supposed that the fires which the savages make hereabouts drive it into the interior. Our hunters met with a tiger-cat, and several holes in the ground, like those of a warren. They killed some crows like those in France, black-birds, thrush, and doves, a parrot resembling in plumage a parroquet of the Amazon, with a white beak, they killed all sorts of sea-birds, chiefly pelicans, and a black bird with red beak and feet, and mentioned by Abel Tasman in his journal.

The climate of this southern part of New Holland appeared to us very cold, although we were there at the end of summer; we could not understand how these wild people could live there in a naked state. What seemed to us more extraordinary is that we could find no trace of a house, merely some break-winds, roughly made with the branches of trees, and some remains of fire near these screens. We judged by the large heaps of shells which were found at intervals that the ordinary food of the savages consisted of mussels, wing-shells, scallops, cockles and various similar shell-fish.

We caught there cat-fish, red fish shaped like gurnet, cod, quantities of very big rays, mullet, and several small fishes that were strange to us. Our sailors found numbers of crayfish, lobsters and huge crabs, the oysters there are good and abundant. Curiosity hunters gathered star-fish, sea-urchins, scallops with long shells and spikes, and several rare and very beautiful shells.

During our stay in this bay I made several observations for longitude and found it to be 143° east of the meridian of Paris. I observed the latitude to be 42° 50′ South at the place where we were anchored. It is to be noted that in sailing along the shores of Diemen's Land we experienced very bad weather on the western side, but on the east coast we found the sky more serene and winds more moderate.

M. Marion, seeing that we were losing time in searching for water in a country as wild as its inhabitants, decided to set sail for New

Zealand, where he hoped to find water, our supplies having begun to run short, and the necessary timber for re-sparring the *Castries*, as well as to repair the *Mascarin*, which was making a good deal of water. On the 10th of March we left Frederic Henry Bay and sailed for New Zealand, where we arrived on the 24th of that month, without anything of importance having occurred."

Thus ended the effort on the part of that band of Europeans to establish some sort of good understanding with the natives of Tasmania. Marion was unfortunate in that the savages of the east coast, as investigators of a later date have shown, formed one of the more warlike tribes of the country. He was equally unfortunate in his innocent but unthinking interpretation of the primitive custom by which the natives sought to discover by his action, when handed a burning bundle of sticks, whether his intentions as chief of the new-comers were friendly or hostile, whether he came in peace or with a desire to destroy. It may well be that Marion determined after this experience that when next he met with a native race he would seek for greater success in his efforts to break down natural barriers. The English chart, published in 1789, from which Plate 6 is copied, shows his sea course, and it bears this description : " Marion's Track in 1772 to New Zealand where he was devoured by the natives."

The ships made the land near Mt. Egmont, (4) on the west coast of North Island, and worked northwards. Eventually on the 11th of May, after varied experiences, safe anchorage was found in the Bay of Islands, on the N.E. coast of North Island. Here Marion soon established social relations of a most intimate nature with the Maoris. The natives overran the ships, received and gave presents, and each party treated the other as if all belonged to a band of brothers. The Frenchmen were shown everything of note in the villages, fished and hunted with the men, and arrangements were made for a supply of Kauri pine spars for the ships, which now badly needed fresh equipment. Crozet reports that, remembering Tasman's experience in Murderers Bay (near Cook Strait), he always remained on his guard in all dealings with the natives, but that Marion became over-confident and failed to take the precautions that ordinary prudence demanded.

On the 12th of June a cunning scheme to murder Marion, which had evidently been in preparation for days, was put into execution under conditions which gave him no chance to escape. The reasons for this action were probably connected with infringements by Marion of " taboo " placed by the Maoris on certain trees he had started to convert into ships' spars. Taboo, the

(4) Note.

prohibition or reservation imposed by the uncivilized South Sea islanders upon selected persons and things for their protection, and resting for its authority and acceptance on religious feeling and on belief in magic, with perhaps a substratum of economic necessity, could not have been understood by Marion. It was therefore an easy matter for him to commit breaches of the customs regulating it and to incur the penalties involved in such sacrilege.

But other factors undoubtedly entered into the case. A Maori had stolen a sword from one of the ships and had been punished. The natives of the district were cannibals, treacherous, warlike and haughty, and very little provocation was needed to light the fires of anger and resentment similar to those that Marion, in a figurative sense, had kindled in Tasmania. No doubt jealousy, that active agency of disturbance when an inferior but vain type of mankind is brought into contact with one superior to itself, had its influence in that which took place. On the date named Marion, accompanied by sixteen of his people, including two officers, went ashore to fish with a seine. This opportunity was seized by the savages, who probably took part in the fishing, to club the whole of the Europeans to death ; the bodies were then taken ashore, roasted and eaten. On the following day, in ignorance of what had occurred, a boat was sent ashore for wood and water for the day's consumption. The twelve men composing the crew were received by the natives in a friendly manner, but soon afterwards were set upon by overwhelming numbers and massacred, with the exception of one man, who, though wounded by spears, swam off to his ship and reported what had happened. It now became certain that Marion and his party had also been destroyed. Steps were taken to bring off the contingent at work on the ships' masts, two leagues inland, and to concentrate forces on the vessels. Duclesmeur, captain of the *Castries*, took command of the expedition, and Crozet was placed in charge of the *Mascarin*.

The ships remained a month longer at the Bay of Islands, obtaining necessary supplies of water and firewood. During this time reprisals were taken for the conduct of the Maoris, which to the visitors, in view of the earlier friendly relations that had been established, appeared in an infamous light. Numbers of the natives lost their lives in the measures adopted to ensure the safety of the ships. Two villages were burnt, and in these undoubted evidence was obtained of the manner in which Marion and the others had been treated.

It was decided to give up all idea of research work in the southern seas, to sail, when the *Castries* had been rigged with

jury-masts, to the islands of Rotterdam and Amsterdam, to visit Guam in the Ladrone Islands, then to pass to the Philippines and there collect a cargo for the Isle of France. This programme was followed, and the ships arrived back at Port Louis early in 1773. The voyage was a great disappointment for Poivre, the French Governor, who had hoped that his little colony would benefit by some development of trade with the Pacific, and by the introduction into the island of south sea products for the purpose of cultivation. Crozet on his return to France gained well-earned promotion and Duclesmeur gained distinction in the naval wars with Great Britain.

Marion's association with Tasmania is marked by the bay on the east coast which bears his name. Crozet's miniature chart of the southern coasts, which could be included in a space less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch by 1 inch, is too insignificant for reproduction, in spite of Flinders' praise.

CHAPTER V

CAPTAIN COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE, 1772–1775

COOK'S chief reward, after his return in 1771 from his first voyage round the world, was the offer made to him to take charge of a second expedition. It was considered by the naval authorities that a systematic survey of the southern seas in high latitudes, to embrace a full circuit of the globe in those still unknown regions, was now called for, and that the one man to take command in such a prolonged and hazardous enterprise was Cook. He was promoted from the rank of a Lieutenant to that of a Commander in the Navy. His advice was again taken as to the class of ship to be employed, but for the new venture, as a result of his former experience, it was decided that a second vessel should be placed under his orders, to strengthen his hands and minimize the risk of disaster overtaking one of the ships.

Two Whitby built colliers, recently constructed, were purchased by the Admiralty and fitted out with the greatest care at the naval dockyards. Special attention was paid to their provisioning, and stores sufficient for two and a half years were placed on board. Cook's ship, the *Resolution*, was of 452 tons burden. The other, named the *Adventure*, 336 tons, was put under the command of Tobias Furneaux, who was promoted on this occasion. This officer had previously gained experience in the Pacific Ocean, as he had been Second-Lieutenant in the *Dolphin*, under Captain Wallis, who circumnavigated the globe in the years 1766 to 1768 and was the discoverer of Tahiti.

Cook was greatly pleased with the ships and with the manner in which they were equipped, and he was equally pleased with the men under him. Two of the lieutenants in the *Resolution*, Clerke and Pickersgill, had been with him in the *Endeavour*, and had raised themselves by ability and good work from subordinate to their present positions. There were others who had accompanied him on his first voyage. Two astronomers were selected to take part in the expedition, William Wales on board the *Resolution* and William Bayly on the *Adventure*, and two botanists, a German and his son, Forster by name, sailed with Cook,

whose staff also included a landscape painter, William Hodges. Joseph Banks, who had been with Cook on the first voyage, was to have been of the party, but the accommodation provided not being to his liking he withdrew the offer of his services.

Cook's instructions were to proceed to Cape Town, and after refreshing the ships' companies there to sail southward to search for, and, if it were found, to explore " the continent which had so much engaged the attention of geographers and former navigators ". If no continent was met with there he was to move eastward, always sailing as near the South Pole as possible and always searching for the continent until the globe was circumnavigated. In winter seasons the ships were to repair northward to some known spot to refresh the crews and refit for the prosecution of the work in the south. Much was left to Cook's discretion, but in the event of the *Resolution* being lost or disabled Cook was to continue the voyage on board the *Adventure*. In discussing his instructions Cook does not refer to the other eventuality, the possible loss of the *Adventure*.

The ships sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of July 1772, and arrived at Cape Town on 30th October, having called in on the way at Madeira and the Cape Verde Islands for provisions. Cook was informed by the Governor of the Dutch Colony of the visit, in the preceding December, of the two French vessels commanded by M. Marion.

" Three or four days after us ", wrote Cook in his journal, " two Dutch Indiamen arrived here from Holland; after a passage of between four and five months, in which one lost, by the scurvy and other putrid diseases, 150 men; and the other 41. They sent, on their arrival, great numbers to the hospital in very dreadful circumstances."

An object-lesson this, doubtless used by Cook to prove to his men how well worth while it was to maintain the methods he always adopted at sea to keep his ship clean and dry, and bedding and clothes well aired, fussy measures as the sailors might think them to be. For both his ships had arrived at the Cape in healthy condition.

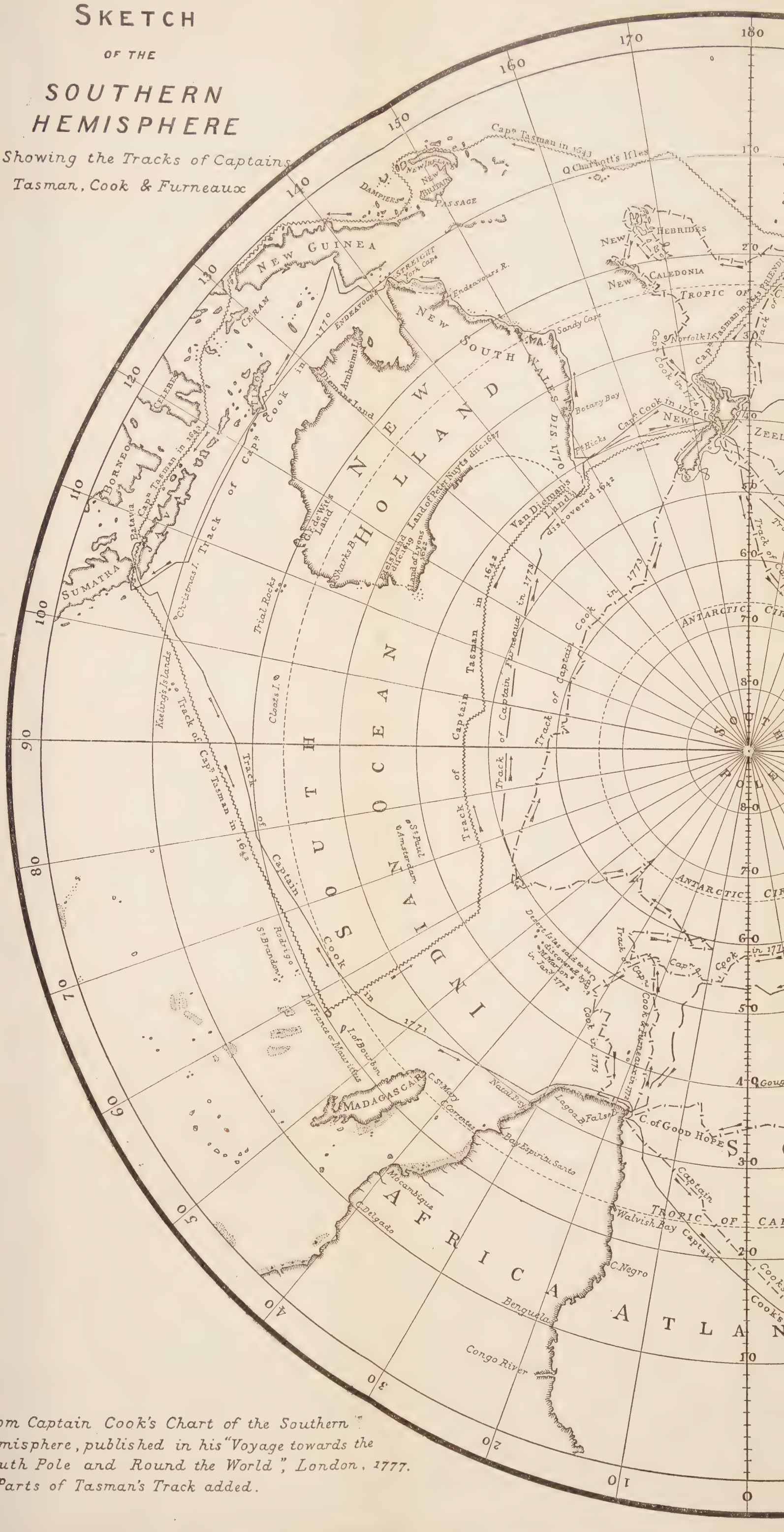
In good repair and well-found as when they left England, the vessels sailed south upon their hard task on 22nd November. A fortnight later a misfortune occurred, when a gale swept away a great part of the live stock, sheep, hogs and geese, purchased at the Cape, but Cook accepted such rubs of fortune as this as part of the great game he was engaged in. For two months the ships battled against the adverse conditions inevitable in such high latitudes even in summer, and were finally brought up against the pack-ice, beyond or through which no way could be found, although on one occasion the Antarctic Circle was reached

SKETCH

OF THE

SOUTHERN HEMISPHERE

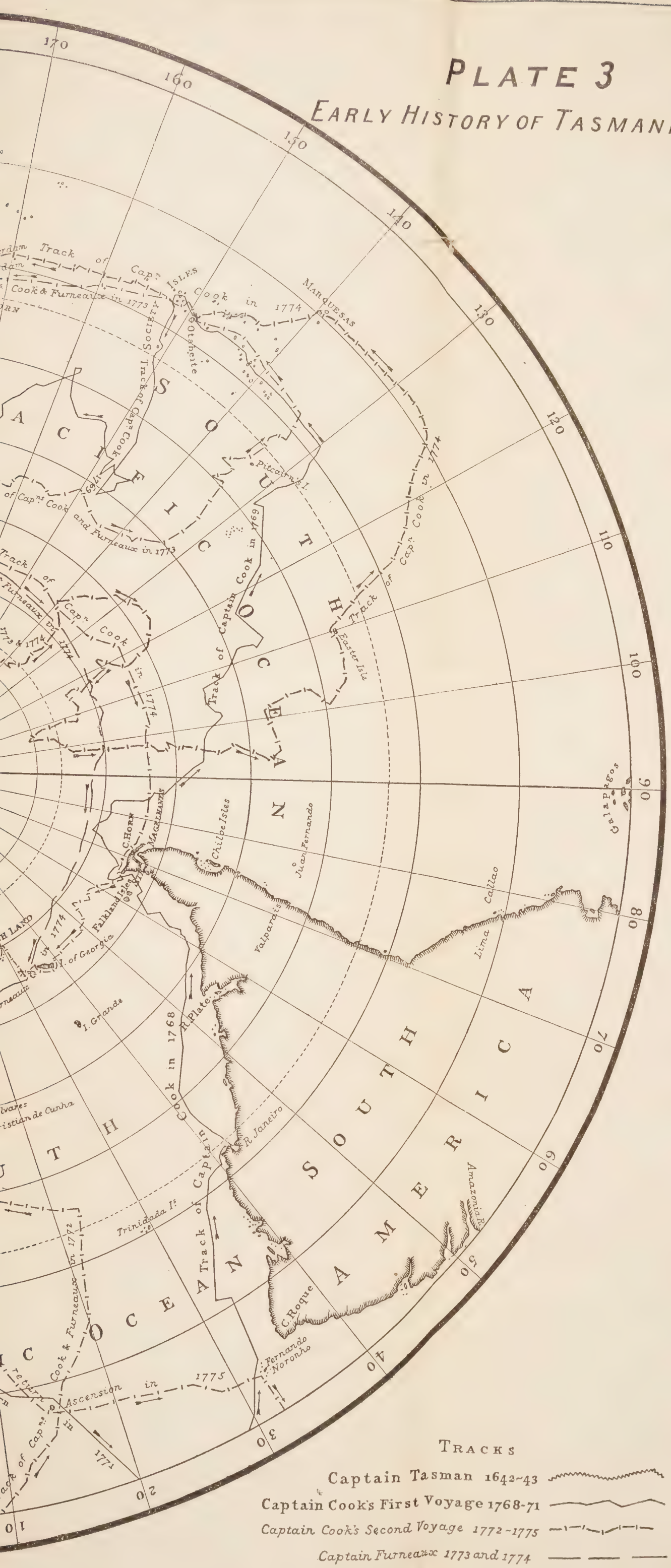
Showing the Tracks of Captains Tasman, Cook & Furneaux



From Captain Cook's Chart of the Southern Hemisphere, published in his "Voyage towards the South Pole and Round the World", London, 1777. Parts of Tasman's Track added.

PLATE 3

EARLY HISTORY OF TASMANIA



TRACKS

Captain Tasman 1642-43

Captain Cook's First Voyage 1768-71

Captain Cook's Second Voyage 1772-1775

Captain Furneaux 1773 and 1774

and passed (Plate 3). Neither continent nor islands were met with, but at one point the expedition was, in fact, at no great distance from the real southern continent which more recent explorers have partly defined. Cook's work proved its non-existence in parts of the ocean where it had been thought to lie. One discovery was made, which relieved the navigator's fears regarding his water-supply. This was the possibility of obtaining drinkable water from blocks of ice broken from the innumerable ice-islands between which the ships were sailed.

On 8th February 1773, the ships parted company in a fog, and Cook recorded that he was at a loss to understand how it had come about. His instructions to Furneaux had been that if this happened the *Adventure* was to cruise about for three days in the vicinity of the spot where the separation had taken place. Cook hung about this point, but although the weather cleared could see nothing of his consort, and he was therefore compelled to carry on, unaided and alone, in those bleak and desolate regions of the globe. He continued his course eastwards, mainly near latitude 60°, and then, on the 17th of March 1773, turned to the north, "having come to the resolution", he wrote, "to proceed to New Zealand, to look for the *Adventure*, and to refresh my people. I had also some thoughts, and even a desire, to visit the east coast of Van Diemen's Land, in order to satisfy myself if it joined the coast of New South Wales." Two days later he wrote:

"We saw a seal and some penguins and more rock weed, we also saw a Port Egmont hen. Navigators have generally looked upon all these to be certain signs of the vicinity of land; I cannot, however, support this opinion. At this time we knew of no land, nor is it even probable that there is any nearer than New Holland or Van Diemen's Land, from which we were distant 260 leagues. As the wind would not permit me to touch at Van Diemen's Land I shaped my course to New Zealand."

Cook was mistaken; he was now in the vicinity of Macquarie Island, and had his course lain but little more to the east he would have added it to his list of discoveries. This distant dependency of Tasmania, small though it is in area, is yet large enough to provide a sanctuary for the fauna and flora of southern seas. Had the *Resolution* had the good fortune to touch there, the crew would have enjoyed ample supplies of fresh food, not to be found in New Zealand, from its teeming population of seals and birds. In addition, it would have furnished Cook with an excellent starting-point when, in December of that year (1773), the time came to continue the great search for a continent along the sixtieth parallel of latitude.

The *Resolution* anchored in Dusky Bay on the 20th of March

1773. This Sound is near the south-west corner of South Island, New Zealand, and the ship remained there for nearly seven weeks before sailing to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where, on the 18th of May, Cook had the satisfaction of finding the *Adventure*, which had been lying there for six weeks. Cook now received from Captain Furneaux a report of his proceedings from the time the two ships parted company to their meeting in New Zealand waters. The following extracts afford a sufficient account of what had taken place in the interval and the notes made by Furneaux concerning the natives of Tasmania during the few days he was in touch with the shore are given in detail. Observations recorded by the first European visitors to the island are of great importance, even when these are, as in this instance, somewhat meagre, for it was their privilege to see its inhabitants in their primitive state before outside influences had been brought to bear on their settled habits and customs.

CAPTAIN FURNEAUX'S VISIT TO TASMANIA

"On the 7th of February 1773, in the morning, the *Resolution* being then about two miles ahead, the wind shifting then to the westward, brought on a very thick fog, so that we lost sight of her. . . . In the evening it began to blow hard, and was, at intervals, more clear, but could see nothing of her, which gave us much uneasiness. We then tacked and stood to the westward, to cruize in the place where we last saw her, according to agreement in case of separation, . . . we cruized as near the place as we could get, for three days, when, giving over all hopes of joining company again, we bore away for winter quarters, distant fourteen hundred leagues, through a sea entirely unknown, and reduced the allowance of water to one quart per day. On the first of March we directed our course toward the land laid down in the charts by the name of Van Diemen's Land, discovered by Tasman in 1642, and laid down in the latitude 44° South, and longitude 140° East, and supposed to join to New Holland. On the 9th of March, having little wind and pleasant weather, about nine a.m. we saw the land about eight or nine leagues distance. We hauled immediately up for it, and by noon were within three or four leagues of it. A point much like the Ramhead off Plymouth, which I take to be the same that Tasman calls South Cape, bore North four leagues off us. The land from this Cape runs directly to the eastward; about four leagues along shore there are three islands about two miles long, and several rocks resembling the Mewstone, (particularly one which we so named), about four or five leagues off the above Cape, which Tasman has not mentioned, or laid down in his Draughts. From the S.W. cape to the S.E. cape is nearly sixteen leagues. Here the country is hilly and full of trees, the shore rocky and difficult landing, occasioned by the wind blowing here continually from the westward, which occasions such a surf that the sand cannot lie on the shore. We saw no inhabitants here.

The morning on the 10th of March being calm, the ship then about four miles from the land, sent the great cutter on shore with the second lieutenant, to find if there was any harbour or good bay. Soon after it began to blow very hard. At half past one to our great satisfaction, the boat returned on board safe. They landed, but with much difficulty, and saw several places where the Indians had been, and one they lately had left, where they had a fire with a great number of pearl escallop shells round it. There was a path from this place, through the woods, which in all probability leads to their habitations, but, by reason of the weather, had not time to pursue it. The soil seems to be very rich ; the country well clothed with wood ; plenty of water which falls from the rocks in beautiful cascades for two or three hundred feet perpendicular into the sea ; but they did not see the least sign of any place to anchor in with safety. Hoisted in the boat and made sail for Frederick Henry Bay. From noon to three p.m. running along shore E. by N. at which time we were abreast of the westernmost point of a very deep bay, called by Tasman, Stormy Bay. From the West to the East point of this bay there are several small islands, and black rocks which we called the Fryars. While crossing this bay we had very heavy squalls and thick weather ; at times when it cleared up, I saw several fires in the bottom of the bay, which is near two or three leagues deep, and has, I doubt not, good places for anchoring, but the weather being so bad, did not think it safe to stand into it. From the Fryars the land trenches away about N. by E. four leagues. We had smooth water and kept in shore. At half past six we hauled round a high bluff point, the rocks whereof were like so many fluted pillars. At seven, being abreast of a fine bay, and having little wind, we came to. Just before we anchored had a good observation which gave the longitude of 147.34′ being in the latitude of 43° 20′ South. We first took this bay to be that which Tasman called Frederick Henry Bay, but afterwards found that his is laid down five leagues to the northward of this. (Plate 4.)

At daybreak the next morning (11th of March 1773), I sent the master in shore to sound the bay, and to find out a watering-place ; at eight he returned, having found a most excellent harbour, clear ground from side to side. We weighed and turned up into the bay. At seven o'clock in the evening, we anchored in seven fathoms water, the North point of the bay N.N.E. ½ E. (which we take to be Tasman's Head), and the Easternmost point (which we named Penguin Island, from a curious one we caught there) N.E. by E. ½ E. ; Maria's Island, which is about five or six leagues off, shut in with both points ; so that you are quite landlocked in a most spacious harbour.

We lay here five days, which time was employed wooding and watering, and overhauling the rigging. We found the country very pleasant ; the soil a black, rich, though thin one ; the sides of the hills covered with large trees, and very thick, growing to a great height before they branch off. Out of the trees we cut down for firewood, there issued some gum, which the Surgeon called gum-lac. The trees are mostly burnt, or scorched, near the ground, occasioned by the natives setting fire to the under-wood in the most frequented places ;

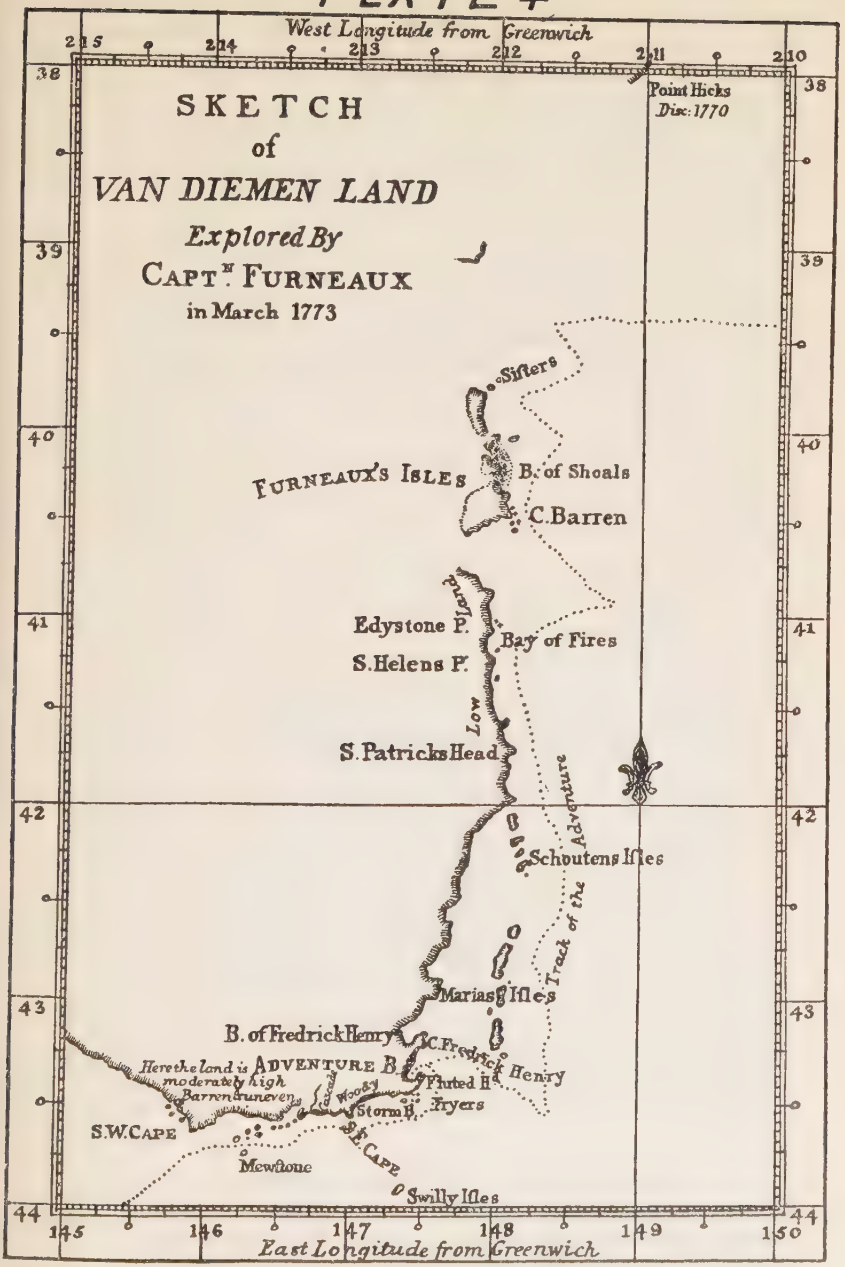
and by these means they have rendered it easy walking. The land-birds we saw, are a bird like a raven ; some of the crow-kind, black, with the tips of the feathers of the tail and wings white, their bill long and very sharp ; some paroquets, and several kinds of small birds. The sea-fowl are ducks, teal and the sheldrake. As for beasts we saw but one, which was an *opossum* ; but we observed the dung of some, which we judged to be of the deer kind. The fish in the bay are scarce ; those we caught were mostly sharks, dog-fish, and a fish called by the seamen nurses, like the dog-fish, only full of small white spots ; and some small fish not unlike sprats. The Lagoons (which are brackish) abound with trout, and several other sorts of fish, of which we caught a few with lines, but being much encumbered with stumps of trees, we could not haul the seine.

While we lay here, we saw several smokes and large fires, about eight or ten miles in shore to the northward, but did not see any of the natives ; though they frequently come into this bay, as there were several wigwams or huts, where we found some bags and nets made of grass, in which I imagine they carry their provisions and other necessaries. In one of them there was the stone they strike fire with, and tinder made of bark. We found in one of their huts, one of their spears, which was made sharp at one end, I suppose, with a shell or stone. Those things we brought away, leaving in the room of them medals, gun-flints, a few nails, and an old empty barrel with the iron hoops on it. They seem to be quite ignorant of every sort of metal. The boughs, of which their huts are made, are either broken or split, and tied together with grass in a circular form, the largest end stuck in the ground, and the smaller parts meeting in a point at the top, and covered with fern and bark ; so poorly done that they will hardly keep out a shower of rain. In the middle is the fireplace, surrounded with heaps of muscle, pearl, scallop, and crayfish shells ; which I believe to be their chief food, though we could not find any of them. They lie on the ground, on dried grass, round the fire ; and, I believe, they have no settled place of habitation (as their houses seem built only for a few days), but wander about in small parties from place to place in search of food, and are actuated by no other motive. We never found more than three or four huts in a place, capable of containing three or four persons each only ; and what is remarkable, we never saw the least marks either of canoe or boat, and it is generally thought they have none ; being altogether, from what we could judge, a very ignorant and wretched set of people, though natives of a country capable of producing every necessary of life, and a climate the finest in the world. We found not the least signs of any minerals or metals.

Having completed our wood and water, we sailed from Adventure Bay, intending to coast it up along shore, till we should fall in with the land seen by Captain Cook, and discover whether Van Diemen's Land joins with New Holland. On the 16th we passed Maria's Islands, so named by Tasman ; they appear to be the same as the main land. On the 17th having passed Schouten's Islands, we hauled in for the main land, and stood along shore at the distance of two or three leagues off. The country here appears to be very thickly inhabited, as there

EARLY HISTORY OF TASMANIA

PLATE 4



From Captn Cook's Account of his Second Voyage, published 1777

was a continual fire along shore as we sailed. The land hereabouts is much pleasanter, low, and even; but no signs of a harbour or bay, where a ship might anchor with safety. The weather being bad, and blowing hard at S.S.E., we could not send a boat on shore to have any intercourse with the inhabitants. In the latitude of 40.50 South the land trenches away to the westward, which I believe forms a deep bay, as we saw from the deck several smokes arising a-back of the islands that lay before it, when we could not see the least signs of land from the mast head.

From the latitude of 40° 50′ South, to the latitude of 39° 50′ South, is nothing but islands and shoals, the land high, rocky, and barren. From the latitude of 39° 50′ to 39° S. we saw no land. We made land again in about 39°; after which we discontinued our northerly course, as we found the ground very uneven, and shoal-water some distance off. I think it a very dangerous shore to fall in with. It is my opinion that there is no straits between New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, but a very deep bay. I should have stood farther to the northward, but the wind blowing strong at S.S.E., and looking likely to haul round to the eastward, which would have blown right on the land, I therefore thought it more proper to leave the coast and steer for New Zealand.

We made the coast of New Zealand after a passage of fifteen days. On the 7th of April 1773, we anchored in Ship Cove, (Queen Charlotte's Sound). The two following days were employed in erecting our tents for the sick (having then several on board much afflicted with the scurvy). On the 10th we settled the astronomer with his instruments, and a sufficient guard, on a small island. Having done this we struck our tents, and having removed the ship farther into the cove, moored her for the winter. We then erected our tents near the river, and sent ashore all the spars and lumber off the decks, that they might be caulked; and gave her a winter coat to preserve the hull and rigging."

The Log of James Burney, Second-Lieutenant of the *Adventure*, and the future chronicler of early discoveries in southern seas, contains information of importance concerning the visit of Furneaux to Adventure Bay (5). A midshipman on the *Resolution* when the ships left England he was promoted by Cook to be a lieutenant when a vacancy occurred on the *Adventure* at Cape Town. It was Burney who was in charge of the cutter sent ashore to the bay east of Cox Bight. His remarks concerning Adventure Bay are similar to those of Furneaux, but the following should be quoted:

"From the Tops of the Hills I could see Water beyond the Low Land at the North part of the Bay—but whether this has communication with the Sea, or is only a Lagoon, we could not determine, if the former it must doubtless be the Bay of Frederick Henry. We saw the Land again beyond the Water; it seems to be a fine Country to

(5) Note.

the Northward and by the many fires we saw then, must be well inhabited."

Burney was therefore the first European to note the existence of a sheet of water to the west of Adventure Bay, though he supposed it to be, as others did later, part of Frederick Henry Bay. A change of the present name of Isthmus Bay to " Isthmus or Burney Bay " would record the fact of this early discovery. Burney's Log and the attached chart show the course of the ship after leaving Adventure Bay, and throw an interesting light on the manner in which a fine opportunity for the performance of useful work was missed by Furneaux.

The story told by Furneaux makes it all the more regrettable that Cook on his first voyage did not begin his survey of the east coast of " New Holland " from the point where Tasman left that coast in December 1642. Furneaux had no gifts either as an explorer or as a navigator of new coast lines, and the result of his blunders are shown, even to this day, in the maps of the island. It has been said that a general who is a military genius will form a fairly correct picture in his mind how his opponent, hidden by the hills between them, is disposing his forces, and will thus be prepared for that enemy's attacks. In a similar way, the marine explorer and surveyor of high intellect will construct, as he passes along a coast, a more or less accurate sketch of " the lie of the country ", in those parts of gulfs and bays hidden from his view by intervening land. He will, in fact, be able " to see round the corner ", and thus add to the successful results of his efforts. That Cook possessed this power is shown by the accuracy of the charts built up by him often from the scantiest material, and he was followed, at a later date, by another Englishman who was, perhaps, even more gifted in this way.

With Tasman's charts at his disposal (Plates 1 and 2), and with the actual coast line and its well-marked features before him, it is difficult to see how Furneaux fell into the errors made by him. His own chart (Plate 4) bears little resemblance to the configuration of the coast, and yet he had one feature of first-rate importance to guide him : the Swilly Isles of his own chart, the Pedra Branca of that of Tasman, which should have fixed for him the position of the Storm Bay of Tasman, while the relation of Maria Island, as laid down by the earlier navigator, with regard to Tasman's anchorage, ought to have prevented Furneaux from transferring that name to what is now called Tasman's Peninsula. The truth seems to be that he was either wholly incapable of constructing a chart in some agreement with the true facts, or was little concerned with the importance of the service upon which he was engaged. The uninspired use made of the oppor-

tunity to examine the waters near the islands in Bass Strait, which now bear his name, leads to the conclusion that the second of these conditions affords the chief explanation of his conduct. A rectification of some of Furneaux's place-names, names allotted by him in error, would be a welcome improvement in the maps of the island.

Two days after the *Resolution* joined the *Adventure* in Queen Charlotte's Sound, Cook had made up his mind regarding his future action.

"I have already mentioned", he wrote on the 19th of May 1773, "a desire I had of visiting Van Diemen's Land, in order to inform myself if it made a part of New Holland; and I certainly should have done this, had the winds proved favourable. But as Captain Furneaux had, now, in a great measure, cleared up that point, I could have no business there; and I therefore came to a resolution to continue our researches to the East between the latitudes of 41° and 46°. I acquainted Captain Furneaux therewith, and ordered him to get his ship in readiness to put to sea as soon as possible."

This instruction, breaking up as it did the preparations for hibernation made by Furneaux, and issued, it may be, with grim appreciation of the humour of the situation, must have been a rude shock for that officer. Cook's first business, however, was to attend to the health of the two crews, and he collected scurvy-grass, celery, and other vegetables found in the Sound, to get his men in good condition. The people in the *Adventure* naturally needed most attention, but by the 7th of June, when the ships passed through Cook Strait, both crews were healthy.

Only a brief sketch of the remainder of this voyage can be given here. This will be sufficient, with the aid of Plate 3, to show how Cook interpreted the high mission with which he had been entrusted, and the course he pursued in conducting it. The main object of the voyage had been circumnavigation of the globe as far south as practicable. Nearly one-half of this had been accomplished. It was now winter, so that nothing could be done at the time to continue the work. But there was always the wide ocean to be hunted over for game, and continents and islands represented such rewards in Cook's eyes. When giving Furneaux his instructions, in writing, he appointed two places of rendezvous, in case of separation: Tahiti, where the *Adventure* was to wait till the 20th of August, and Queen Charlotte's Sound, for the 20th of November 1773, "After which (if not joined by me) he was to put to sea, and carry into execution their Lordships' instructions."

After sailing for five weeks along the route laid down, the two ships turned north and made for Tahiti. At this time the

leader was much concerned to find that, while his ship had but one man attacked with scurvy, the *Adventure* had twenty of her best men down with disease, and he did not know how to account for it. This made it all the more necessary to hasten to the place where refreshments were assured, and thus several small islands which were seen could not be examined. On arriving off Tahiti the vessels had a narrow escape from shipwreck on a coral reef. "Had the sea-breeze, as is usual, set in," wrote Cook, "the *Resolution* must inevitably have been lost, and probably the *Adventure* too." After staying for a month they passed on to the Friendly Islands, discovered by Tasman, and a few days later set sail for New Zealand, the east coast of which was reached on the 21st of October 1773.

The two ships suffered from a severe buffeting from bad weather near the eastern entrance to Cook Strait, but at last, on the 29th, the weather seemed favourable for a passage through the channel. During the night the *Adventure*, for the second time in the voyage, parted company with the *Resolution*, and this proved to be the final separation. Four days later (3rd November) Cook was anchored at the rendezvous, Queen Charlotte's Sound, and awaited the arrival of Furneaux, according to the arranged programme.

It was here that Cook had an ocular demonstration that the Maoris were cannibals, and he reported that the youth who had come away with him from Tahiti was convulsed with rage and horror at this exhibition of their customs by the natives. On the 25th of November 1773, the ship left the Sound, having thus given the *Adventure* five days' grace after the appointed date. "I was resolved not to leave the coast without looking for her, where I thought it most likely for her to be." With this in view Cook stood along the coast, firing guns every half-hour, without effect. But his men were not dejected, and were as ready to follow him wherever he thought proper to lead them, "as if the *Adventure* or even more ships had been in our company".

When considering this second separation of the ships, and the serious position in which it placed Cook (for the combination of forces had been arranged on his advice, as the result of experience gained on the first voyage), it is impossible to avoid the question: Was there not something more than mere coincidence in these two events, so like in nature, and followed in each case by similar action? On the first occasion the *Adventure*, after losing contact with her leader, took almost a direct course for "winter quarters", paying a short visit, it is true, to Van Diemen's Land, and making an ineffective excursion along the east coast of that country. When the second parting took place,

the *Adventure* cruised about the entrance to the Strait and spent a week in an adjacent bay ! It was not till the 30th of November that she anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound. Here, in the middle of December, a disaster occurred, ten of the ship's company, a midshipman in command, being murdered and partly eaten by the Maoris. The *Adventure* left the coast about Christmas Day and sailed by the shortest route to the point where the expedition had begun its work a year before (Plate 3), and then proceeded to England, by the Cape, arriving there a year before the *Resolution* (6).

After he left New Zealand Cook sailed southward beyond the sixtieth parallel of latitude and two months later he had completed nearly a half of the work that remained to be done in those icy regions. Twice he reached points within the Antarctic Circle. It is appropriate here to consider a little this explorer's methodical system of traversing unknown seas. Plate 3 shows how he avoided routes along which he had previously sailed, and even those followed by earlier navigators were shunned. Each zigzag had its object, suggested to him by some set of current, state of sea, or even the presence of birds, all such things as might indicate proximity to land, and the eye cannot fail to notice how the course of the *Adventure* in 1773 cuts directly across some of those angular sea-tracks which the object of the voyage made necessary.

Cook now made up his mind to spend another year at sea. " For me to have quitted this Southern Pacific Ocean, with a good ship expressly sent out on discovery, a healthy crew, and not in want either of stores or of provisions, would have been betraying not only a want of perseverance, but of judgment, in supposing the South Pacific Ocean to have been so well explored that nothing remained to be done in it." He therefore proposed to go to Tahiti (where he thought he might meet with the *Adventure*), and then to investigate other ocean areas, for the benefit of geography and kindred sciences. He had the satisfaction of finding that his officers fully approved of this great scheme, and even the sailors were well disposed towards an extended voyage.

After calling in at Easter Island, famous for its colossal statues and the mystery, still unsolved, surrounding their origin, the ship passed on to the Marquesas Islands and then to Tahiti. This place had a fascination for Cook on his voyages. He learned to know the islanders and to understand their ways, but chiefly he valued this spot as affording the best resting-place in the Pacific for his crews, and the refreshment so essential for their good health. On the present visit he had an opportunity of seeing two naval reviews, in which 300 war-canoes of the principal

(6) Note.

chieftain were collected, preparatory to hostilities against a neighbouring and rebellious subordinate ruler. He was anxious to see the rival forces in action, but the islanders preferred to wait for his departure before opening the campaign: they were suspicious of his power, and thought he might use it to help the enemy.

The navigator now entered upon a period of important discoveries. After leaving Tahiti he paid a visit to the Friendly Islands, and then sailed westward to the Great Cyclades, renamed by him the New Hebrides. The principal member of this group, Australia del Espiritu Santo, was discovered by Quiros in 1606. Cook, making an extended survey, added several notable islands to the known list, namely, Mallicolo, Sandwich, Erromango and Tanna. But a more considerable prize soon rewarded this keen hunter after the unknown in uncharted seas, when he came upon and named New Caledonia. Here he landed, and then traversed its east coast. Lack of time prevented circumnavigation of the land, so much desired by him, but the work that was accomplished there prepared the way for others to follow and to complete what he was compelled to leave undone.

On the way to New Zealand Cook discovered and landed upon Norfolk Island (Plate 6). This small uninhabited islet, standing isolated in a wide expanse of the Pacific, and the future history of which was to be so closely associated for a time with that of Tasmania, called for little comment from the first pioneer to place it upon the map. He did note, however, the luxuriant growth of the flax-plant, and more particularly the pine trees, " of a sort between that which grows in New Zealand and that in New Caledonia ; the wood not so heavy as the former, nor so light and close grained as the latter. It is a good deal like the Quebec pine." The sailor in Cook had been much attracted by the possibilities of the pines of New Caledonia for ships' spars.

Soon after his arrival at Queen Charlotte's Sound (18th October), where necessary repairs had to be carried out for the latter part of the voyage, Cook was greatly disturbed by rumours of some disaster concerning a ship which had been lost and the people killed. The story was naturally associated by him with the *Adventure,* but all he could learn with any certainty was that she had arrived after the departure of the *Resolution* ten months previously, and after staying from ten to twenty days had sailed away. It was not until the *Resolution* arrived at the Cape that a more exact account of the loss of the *Adventure's* boat and its crew was obtained. And it was not till 1777 that the full story was disclosed by the Maoris.

The *Resolution* left her anchorage on the 10th November 1774, and Christmas Day was spent in a large bay, named by Cook

Christmas Sound, in Tierra de Fuego, a little west of Cape Horn. The leader wrote with gusto of the excellent fare they enjoyed there on that day: roast and boiled geese, goose-pye, and the Madeira wine that yet remained to them.

Three discoveries yet remained for Cook. The first of these was the desolate island named by him South Georgia (since used as a whaling station); then he found the Sandwich Group of islands. The third result obtained was a proof that the land which a French navigator, M. Bouvet, claimed to have seen in 1739, and was thought to be part of a great southern continent, could not in fact be other than an island, for Cook sailed along a course to the south of its position as given by Bouvet, and came to the conclusion that the earlier navigator had been deceived, as he himself had been on one occasion, by the ice-islands so common in those regions.

Cook did not turn northward on his homeward journey till he had cut across the course he had followed when outward bound, thus bringing together the ends of the remarkable girdle with which he had encircled the globe (Plate 3). In Table Bay, by a happy chance, and aided by the brotherhood of the seas open to men of goodwill with kindred aims, he formed a link with the unfortunate expedition of M. Marion du Fresne, and obtained some useful geographical information.

"One of the French ships", he wrote, "which were at anchor in the bay, was the *Ajax* Indiaman, bound to Pondicherry, commanded by Captain Crozet. He had been second in command with Captain Marion, who sailed from this place with two ships, in March 1772. Instead of going from hence to America, as was said, he stood away for New Zealand, where, in the Bay of Isles, he and some of his people were killed by the inhabitants. Captain Crozet who succeeded to the command, returned by the way of the Phillipine Isles, with the two ships, to the Island of Mauritius. He seemed to be a man possessed of the true spirit of discovery, and to have abilities. In a very obliging manner he communicated to me a chart wherein were delineated not only his own discoveries, but also that of Captain Kerguelen, which I found laid down in the very situation where we searched for it; so that I can by no means conceive how both we and the *Adventure* missed it."

The *Resolution* arrived at Portsmouth on 29th July 1775, after an absence of three years and eighteen days. Its commander took pride in the fact that only four deaths had occurred during the voyage, three from accidents and one from a disease contracted before the ship sailed. He concluded his journal with the remark that the expedition would be remembered on this account, even when disputes about the supposed southern continent were forgotten.

CHAPTER VI

CAPTAIN COOK'S LAST VOYAGE, 1776–1780

AFTER his arrival in England in July 1775, Cook set himself to work to prepare for publication the journal of his second voyage. This appeared in 1777, in two volumes. Rewards and honours for the intrepid sailor were not lacking. He was promoted to the rank of Post-Captain in the Navy, and, as a special reward, was appointed a Captain of Greenwich Hospital. Elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, two papers by him, one dealing with his methods of preserving the health of his men, and the other with tides in the southern seas, were read before that body, which bestowed on him the Copley Medal for the best original paper of the year.

Cook's reputation had now vastly increased, partly owing to his important discoveries, and partly on account of the considerable scientific results obtained from his labours. His two expeditions had set the seal upon the exploration of the unknown parts of the southern seas inaugurated by Byron's voyage in 1764. Other work remained to be accomplished, however, but this lay in the Northern Hemisphere. The North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific had long been the object of attempts to solve its possibility as a route to the East. All these schemes, though productive of extended geographical knowledge, had failed, and it was now thought that the time had arrived for another effort, but on this occasion the attack was to be made in another direction, that is, from the Northern Pacific eastwards towards the Atlantic.

It is said that Cook volunteered his services as leader in the new undertaking, and he was glad to find that no other Commander had been selected to conduct it. His qualifications, indeed, entitled him to the distinction, and he cheerfully gave up the post of honour he held at Greenwich Hospital, in which he might have enjoyed the ease and comfort so well earned by years of arduous service. His old ship, the *Resolution*, and another vessel, the *Discovery*, 300 tons, purchased for the voyage, were fitted out and supplied with every requisite that the experi-

ence of the earlier voyages had shown him to be appropriate. The complements of the two ships were 112 and 80 respectively, and the appointment of Captain Clerke to the command of the *Discovery* would be satisfactory to Cook, and was doubtless due to his influence, for this officer had accompanied him on each of his previous voyages, and had therefore been thoroughly trained in his methods and his doctrines concerning healthy ships. Mr. Webber, "a professed and skilful artist", joined the *Resolution*, and Mr. Wm. Bayly, formerly astronomical observer in the *Adventure*, joined the *Discovery*. Cook proposed to act as his own observer, assisted by his second-lieutenant, James King.

The leader's instructions were that he should proceed to the Cape, refresh the ships' companies there and take in necessary supplies. Proceeding southward he was to search for and examine the Kerguelen Islands, recently seen by the French, with a view to finding a good port, but no great time was to be spent in this manner. He was then to sail to Tahiti, touching at New Zealand, if convenient. Then the great work was to be undertaken. Striking the North American coast about latitude 45° he was to proceed northwards, "taking care not to lose any time in exploring rivers or inlets until you get into latitude 65°". Then a passage, eastward to the Atlantic, or failing this, westward to the North Sea, was to be sought out, the former being the chief objective. As usual, a great deal was left to the navigator's discretion, and indeed, under the circumstances, it was essential that this should be so.

A South Sea islander, named Omai, had been brought from the Society Islands to England in the *Adventure* in 1774, and Cook was directed to take this man with him, and to establish him amongst his own people in the island he might select for his future home. This native had been much impressed by the kind treatment he had received during his stay in England, and as he had conducted himself well during that time had been loaded with such gifts as would set him up as a person of consideration and wealth amongst his former associates. It was expected that this good treatment would not fail to have its effect in creating in the inhabitants of his country an exalted opinion of the greatness of the British nation.

The *Resolution* left Plymouth on the 12th of July 1775, and arrived at Table Bay on the 18th of October, having called in at Teneriffe on the way. It was not till the 10th of November that she was joined by the *Discovery*, which had left England on 1st August.

In view of subsequent historical events in connection with the development of Australia's chief industry, some observations

made by Cook during this visit to Cape Town may well be noted here. "With the benevolent view of conveying some permanent benefit to the inhabitants of Otaheite and other islands", he had been furnished in England with some cattle and sheep. Several of the sheep having been lost at the Cape, he reports:

"The Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Hemmy, very obligingly offered to make up this loss, by giving me a Spanish ram out of some that he had sent for from Lisbon. But I declined the offer, under a persuasion that it would answer my purpose full as well, to take with me some of the Cape rams: the event proved that I was under a mistake. This Gentleman had taken some pains to introduce European sheep at the Cape; but his endeavours, as he told me, have been frustrated by the obstinacy of the country people, who hold their own breed in greater estimation, on account of their large tails, of the fat of which they sometimes make more money than of the whole carcase besides; and think that the wool of European sheep will, by no means, make up for their deficiency in this respect. Indeed, I have heard some sensible men here make the same observation, and there seems to be some foundation for it."

Cook added to his original stock by purchasing young cattle, horses, sheep, rabbits, and poultry. Considering their size, and the number of living beings in each, the ships must have been in an uncomfortably congested state when they put to sea on 1st December, though bad weather and extreme cold soon reduced the number of live stock.

The islands which Marion had discovered were seen by Cook, and as they had no names in the chart given to him by Crozet the previous year, he bestowed on them those that they still bear: Prince Edward's, Marion's and Crozets' Islands. The ships arrived at Kerguelen Island on the 24th of December, and on Christmas Day they anchored in a harbour safe indeed, but situated in a land more inhospitable, repellent and unproductive than Tierra del Fuego, where the *Resolution* had "refreshed" exactly two years before. "From its sterility," wrote Cook, "I should, with great propriety, call it the *Island of Desolation*, but that I would not rob Monsieur de Kerguelen of the honour of bearing his name." Of trees and shrubs there were none, but water was in ample supply, some rough grass was obtained for the stock, while seals and sea-birds provided an addition to the ordinary fare. Three days exhausted all research work in this uninhabited land, and the ships sailed along and charted its northern coast, and then bore away eastward, Adventure Bay being appointed a place of rendezvous in case they became separated.

Extracts are presented here from Cook's Journal of events in Adventure Bay, and they are given somewhat fully, because of the importance of this occasion, and the special value attaching to observations made concerning the aborigines met with. The experience gained by Cook during his previous voyages in the Pacific, in which he had been brought into contact, more or less friendly, with many different varieties of the island peoples, was now brought to bear on the primitive race inhabiting Tasmania. Moreover, in this scrutiny, he had the advantage of an assistant of whom he wrote:

"Mr. Anderson, my surgeon, who to skill in his immediate profession, added great proficiency in natural history, was as willing as he was well qualified, to describe everything in that branch of science which should occur worthy of notice. As he had already visited the South Sea islands in the same ship, and been of singular service, by enabling me to enrich my relation of that voyage with various useful remarks on men and things, I reasonably expected to derive considerable assistance from him in recording our new proceedings."

It is fortunate, therefore, that on this the first historical occasion on which relations were established between white men and the natives of the island sufficiently friendly to enable valuable observations to be made, the work of recording all that could be gleaned in the two days which afforded such an opportunity, should have been in the hands of reliable and skilled witnesses. A cause contributing to the results achieved, perhaps its principal one, was the mild disposition of the natives of Bruny Island, which contrasted favourably with that of the hostile dwellers on the east coast, where Marion's cordial advances in 1772 had miscarried so completely.

EXTRACTS FROM CAPTAIN COOK'S JOURNAL, JANUARY 1777

"On the 24th, at three o'clock in the morning, we discovered the coast of Van Diemen's Land. At four o'clock the Mewstone was three leagues distant. There are several islands and high rocks lying scattered along this part of the coast, the Southernmost of which is the Mewstone. It is a round elevated rock, five or six leagues distant from the South West Cape. The land between the South West and the South Cape is broken and hilly, the coast winding, with points shooting out from it. About a league to the Eastward of Swilly, is another elevated rock, that is not taken notice of by Captain Furneaux. I called it the Eddystone, from its very great resemblance to that lighthouse. Nature seems to have left these two rocks here for the same purpose that the Eddystone lighthouse was built by man, viz. to give navigators notice of the dangers around them.

For they are the conspicuous summits of a ledge of rocks under water, on which the sea in many places, breaks very high. Their surface is white, so that they may be seen at some distance, even in the night. On the North East side of Storm Bay, which lies between the South Cape and Tasman's Head, there are some coves or creeks, that seemed to be sheltered from the sea-winds ; and I am of opinion that, were this coast examined, there would be found some good harbours.

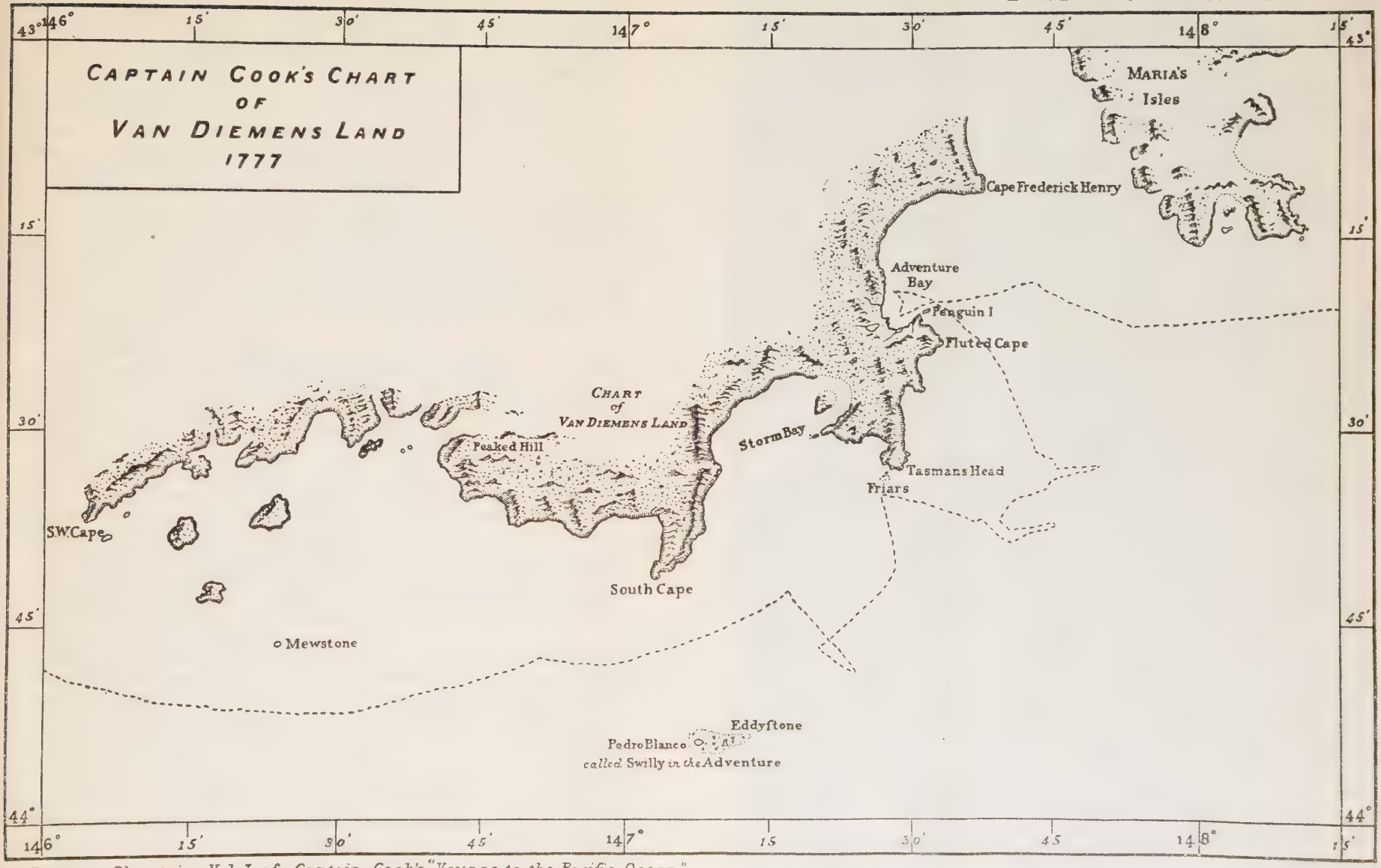
Soon after we had sight of land the Westerly winds left us, and were succeeded by light airs and calms till the 26th at noon. At that time a breeze sprung up and freshened at South East, which put it in my power to carry into execution the design I had, upon due consideration, formed, of carrying the ships into Adventure Bay, where I might expect to get a supply of wood and of grass for the cattle ; of both which articles we should, as I now found, have been in great want, if I had waited till our arrival in New Zealand. We therefore stood for the bay and anchored in it at four o'clock in the afternoon.

As soon as we had anchored, I ordered the boats to be hoisted out. In one of them I went myself, to look for the most commodious place for furnishing ourselves with the necessary supplies ; and Captain Clerke went in his boat upon the same service. Wood and water we found in plenty, but grass of which we stood most in need, was scarce, and also very coarse. Necessity, however, obliged us to take such as we could get.

Monday, 27th January. I sent Lieutenant King to the East side of the bay with two parties, one to cut wood, and the other to cut grass, under the protection of the marines, whom I judged it prudent to land as a guard. For although, as yet, none of the natives had appeared, there could be no doubt that some were in our neighbourhood, as we had seen columns of smoke from the time of our approaching the coast ; and some now was observed, at no great distance up in the woods. I also sent the launch for water ; and afterward visited all the parties myself. In the evening we drew the seine at the head of the bay, and, at one haul, caught a great quantity of fish. We should have got many more had not the net broken in drawing it ashore. Most of them were of that sort known to seamen by the name of elephant fish.

Tuesday, 28th. The people were sent on shore again, on the same duty as the day before. I also employed the carpenter, with part of his crew, to cut some spars for the use of the ship, and dispatched one of the mates, in a small boat to survey the bay.

In the afternoon we were agreeably surprised, at the place where we were cutting wood, with a visit from some of the natives, eight men and a boy. They approached us from the woods, without betraying any marks of fear, or rather with the greatest confidence imaginable ; for none of them had any weapons, except one, who held in his hand a stick about two feet long, and pointed at one end. They were quite naked, and wore no ornaments ; unless we consider as such, and as a proof of their love of finery, some large punctures or ridges raised on different parts of their bodies, some in straight, and other in curved lines.



From a Chart in Vol. I of Captain Cook's "Voyage to the Pacific Ocean"

They were of the common stature, but rather slender. Their skin was black, and also their hair, which was so woolly as that of any native of Guinea; but they were not distinguished by remarkably thick lips, nor flat noses. On the contrary, their features were far from being disagreeable. They had pretty good eyes; and their teeth were tolerably even, but very dirty. Most of them had their hair and beards smeared with a red ointment; and some had their faces also painted with the same composition. They received every present we made to them, without the least appearance of satisfaction. When some bread was given, as soon as they understood that it was to be eaten, they either returned it, or threw it away, without even tasting it. They also refused some elephant fish, both raw and dressed, which we offered to them. But upon giving some birds to them, they did not return these, and easily made us comprehend that they were fond of such food. I had brought two pigs ashore, with a view to leave them in the wood. The instant they came within their reach, they seized them, as a dog would have done, by the ears, and were for carrying them off immediately; with no other intention, as we could perceive, but to kill them.

Being desirous of knowing the use of the stick which one of our visitors carried in his hand, I made signs to them to shew me; and so far succeeded, that one of them set up a piece of wood as a mark, and threw at it, at the distance of about twenty yards. But we had little reason to commend his dexterity; for, after repeated trials, he was still very wide of the object. Omai, to show them how much superior our weapons were to theirs, then fired his musquet at it; which alarmed them so much, that notwithstanding all we could do or say, they ran instantly into the woods. One of them was so frightened, that he let drop an axe and two knives that had been given to him. From us, however, they went to the place where some of the *Discovery's* people were employed in taking water into their boat. The officer of that party, not knowing that they had paid us so friendly a visit, nor what their intent might be, fired a musquet in the air, which sent them off with the greatest precipitation.

Thus ended our first interview with the natives. Immediately after their final retreat, judging that their fears would prevent their remaining near enough to observe what was passing, I ordered the two pigs, being a boar and a sow, to be carried about a mile within the woods. I saw them left there, by the side of a fresh-water brook. A young bull and a cow, and some sheep and goats, were also intended to have been left by me, as an additional present to Van Diemen's Land. But I soon laid aside all thought of this, from a persuasion that the natives, incapable of entering into my views of improving their country, would destroy them. If ever they should meet with the pigs, I have no doubt this will be their fate. But as that race of animals soon becomes wild, and is fond of the thickest cover of the woods, there is great probability of their being preserved.

The morning of the 29th was ushered in with a dead calm, which continued all day, and effectually prevented our sailing. I therefore sent a party over to the East point of the bay to cut grass. Another

party, to cut wood, was ordered to go to the usual place, and I accompanied them myself. We had observed several of the natives this morning, sauntering along the shore, which assured us they were convinced we intended them no mischief, and were desirous of renewing the intercourse. It was natural that I should wish to be present. We had not been long landed before twenty of them, men and boys, joined us, without expressing the least sign of fear or distrust. There was one of this company conspicuously deformed; and who was not more distinguishable by the hump upon his back, than by the drollery of his gestures, and the seeming humour of his speeches; which he was very fond of exhibiting, as we supposed, for our entertainment. But, unfortunately, we could not understand him, the language spoken here being wholly unintelligible to us. It appeared to me to be different from that spoken by the inhabitants of the more northern parts of this country, whom I met with in my first voyage; which is not extraordinary, since those we now saw, and those we then visited, differ in many other respects.

Some of our present group wore, loose, round their necks, three or four folds of small cord, made of the fur of some animal; and others of them had a narrow slip of the *Kangaroo* skin tied round their ankles. I gave to each of them a string of beads, and a medal; which I thought they received with some satisfaction. They seemed to set no value on iron, or on iron tools. They were even ignorant of the use of fish-hooks, if we might judge from their manner of looking at some of ours which we shewed to them.

We cannot, however, suppose it to be possible that a people who inhabit a sea-coast, and who seem to derive no part of their sustenance from the productions of the ground, should not be acquainted with some mode of catching fish, though we did not happen to see any of them thus employed; nor observed any canoe or vessel, in which they could go upon the water. Though they absolutely rejected the sort of fish that we offered to them, it was evident that shell-fish, at least, made a part of their food, from the many heaps of muscle shells we saw in different parts near the shore, and about some deserted habitations near the head of the bay. These were little sheds or hovels built of sticks, and covered with bark. We could also perceive evident signs of their sometimes taking up their abode in the trunks of large trees, which had been hollowed out by fire, most probably for this very purpose. In or near all these habitations, and whenever there was a heap of shells, there remained the marks of fire; an indubitable proof that they do not eat their food raw.

I learnt from Lieut. King that I had but just left the shore (to return to the ship), when several women and children made their appearance and were introduced to him by some of the men who attended them. He gave presents to all of them, of such trifles as he had about him. These females wore a kangaroo skin (in the same shape as it came from the animal) tied over the shoulders and round the waist. But its only use seemed to be to support their children when carried on their backs; being in all other respects as naked as the men, and as black, and their bodies marked with scars in the same manner,

But in this they differed from the men, that though their hair was of the same colour and texture, some of them had their heads completely shorn or shaved; in others this operation had been performed only on one side, while the rest of them had all the upper part of the head shorn close, leaving a circle of hair all round, somewhat like the tonsure of the Romish Ecclesiastics. Many of the children had fine features, and were thought pretty; but of the persons of the women, especially those advanced in years, a less favourable report was made. In the afternoon I went again to the grass-cutters, to forward their work. I found them upon Penguin Island, where they had met with a plentiful crop of excellent grass.

Short as our continuance was here, it has enabled me to add somewhat to the imperfect acquaintance that hath hitherto been acquired, with this part of the globe. Van Diemen's Land has been twice visited before. It was so named by Tasman, who discovered it in November 1642. From that time it had escaped all further notice by European navigators, till Captain Furneaux touched at it in March 1773. (7) I need hardly say that it is the Southern point of New Holland, which, if it doth not deserve the name of a continent, is by far the largest island in the world. The land is, for the most part, of a good height, diversified with hills and valleys, and everywhere of a greenish hue. It is well-wooded; and if one may judge from appearances, and from what we met with in Adventure Bay, is not ill supplied with water. Captain Furneaux's sketch of Van Diemen's Land, published with the narrative of my last Voyage, appears to me to be without any material error, except with regard to Maria's Islands, which have a different situation from what is there represented. What my idea of them is, will be seen from the sketch of that coast here inserted (Plate 5) and I insert it, not as the result of a more faithful, but merely of a second examination. Mr. Anderson, with his usual diligence, spent the few days we remained in Adventure Bay, in examining the country. His account of its natural productions will more than compensate for my silence about them; some of his remarks on the inhabitants will supply what I have omitted or represented imperfectly.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 30th of January, a light breeze springing up at West, we weighed anchor and put to sea from Adventure Bay."

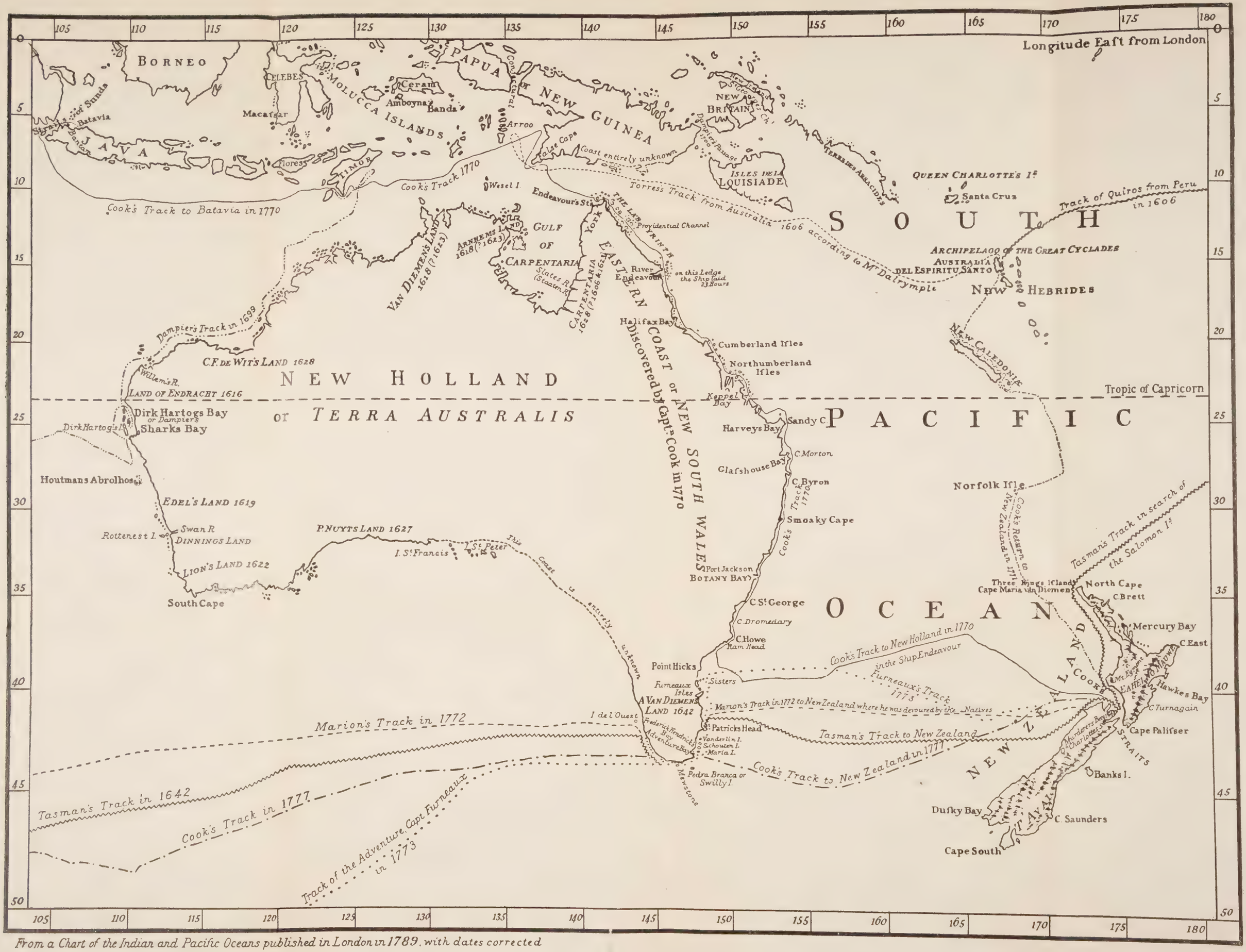
Mr. Anderson's narrative gives a description of the country in the neighbourhood of the Bay, and of the botanical specimens and living creatures met with in his wanderings, and of the fish caught in the seine. His account of the natives, while supplementing that of Cook, makes it all the more regrettable, considering the great importance of all early impressions of these people, that he was so greatly restricted, owing to his leader's desire to push on, in opportunities to carry out investigations which a longer stay in the country and a more extended field of observation would have provided for him.

(7) Note.

"The inhabitants whom we met with here", wrote Anderson, "had little of that fierce and wild appearance common to people in their situation; but, on the contrary, seemed mild and cheerful, without reserve or jealousy of strangers. This, however, may arise from their having little to lose or care for."

"With respect to personal activity or genius, we can say but little of either. They do not seem to possess the first in any remarkable degree; and as to the last, they have, to appearance less than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who have not invention sufficient to make clothing for defending themselves from the rigor of their climate, though furnished with the materials. The small stick, rudely pointed, which one of them carried in his hand, was the only thing we saw that required any mechanical exertion, if we except the fixing on the feet of some of them pieces of *kangaroo* skin, tied with thongs; though it could not be learnt whether these were in use as shoes, or only to defend some sore. It must be owned, however, they are masters of some contrivance in the manner of cutting their arms and bodies in lines of different lengths and directions, which are raised considerably above the surface of the skin, so that it is difficult to guess the method they use in executing this embroidery of their persons. Their not expressing that surprize which one might have expected from their seeing men so much unlike themselves, and things, to which, we were well assured, they had been hitherto utter strangers; their indifference to our presents; and their general inattention; were sufficient proof of their not possessing any acuteness of understanding."

"Their colour is a dull black, and not so deep as that of the African Negroes. It should seem also, that they sometimes heightened their black colour, by smutting their bodies; as a mark was left behind on any clean substance, such as white paper, when they handed it. Their hair, however, is perfectly woolly, and it is clotted or divided into small parcels, like that of the Hottentots, with the use of some sort of grease, mixed with a red paint or ochre, which they smear in great abundance over their heads. This practice, as some might imagine, has not the effect of changing their hair into the frizzling texture we observed; for, on examining the head of a boy, which appeared never to have been smeared, I found the hair to be of the same kind. Their noses, though not flat, are broad and full. The lower part of the face projects a good deal, as is the case of most Indians I have seen; so that a line let fall from the forehead, would cut off a much larger portion than it would in Europeans. Their eyes are of middling size, with the white less clear than in us; and though not remarkably quick or piercing, such as gave a frank cheerful cast to the whole countenance. Their teeth are broad, but not equal, nor well set; and, either from nature or from dirt, not of so true a white as is usual among people of a black colour. Their mouths are rather wide; but this appearance seems heightened by wearing their beards long, and clotted with paint, in the same manner as the hair on their heads. In other respects they are well proportioned; though the belly seems rather projecting. The posture of which they



From a Chart of the Indian and Pacific Oceans published in London in 1789, with dates corrected

seem fondest, is to stand with one side forward, or the upper part of the body gently reclined, and one hand grasping (across the back) the opposite arm, which hangs down by the projecting side."

"What the ancient poets tell us of *Fauns* and *Satyrs* living in hollow trees, is here realized. Some wretched constructions of sticks, covered with bark, which do not even deserve the name of huts, were indeed found near the shore in the bay; but these seem only to have been erected for temporary purposes; and many of their largest trees were converted into more comfortable habitations. These had their trunks hollowed out by fire, to the height of six or seven feet; and that they take up their abode in them sometimes, was evident from the hearths, made of clay, to contain the fire in the middle, leaving room for four or five persons to sit round it. At the same time these places of shelter are durable; for they take care to leave one side of the tree sound, which is sufficient to keep it growing as luxuriantly as those which remain untouched."

"The inhabitants of this place are, doubtless, from the same stock with those of the Northern parts of New Holland. This is certain, that the figure of one of those seen in Endeavour River very much resembles our visitors in Adventure Bay. That there is not the like resemblance in their language, is a circumstance that need not create any difficulty. As it seems very improbable that the Van Diemen's Land inhabitants should have ever lost the use of canoes or sailing vessels, if they had been originally conveyed thither by sea, we must necessarily admit that they, as well as the *Kangooroo* itself, have been stragglers by land from the more northern parts of the country. And if there be any force in this observation, while it traces the origin of the people, it will, at the same time, serve to fix another point, if Captain Cook and Captain Furneaux have not already decided it, that New Holland is nowhere totally divided by the sea into islands, as some have imagined. Their pronunciation is not disagreeable, but rather quick; though not more so than is that of other nations of the South Sea."

Anderson's observations throughout the whole of this voyage indicate how valuable would have been his further contributions to our knowledge concerning the primitive people of the island, had Cook chosen to remain longer in its waters, and sailed up the broad bay leading to the Derwent which lay so invitingly before him, and anchored at other places where natives were to be met with. The navigator's instructions had stated that he was expected to leave Tahiti in the beginning of February 1777, to make for the coast of North America, but it must have been evident to him, as his subsequent movements proved, that the season was already lost and that the time-table laid down could not be followed. On arriving at New Zealand, two weeks were spent at Queen Charlotte's Sound, and these were followed by eleven weeks of leisurely wanderings among the Friendly Islands,

and a similar period in the Society Islands. It is difficult not to grudge some of the time thus generously spent in these two groups, both visited by him before. The truth seems to be that Cook, at this time, was himself attracted, as his ships' companies had always been, by the South Sea islanders and their surroundings. It was to him a personal joy to move amongst them and note their concerns and manners, a satisfaction not unmixed, perhaps, with a natural gratification with the evidences of the high esteem in which he was held by them. Of his visit to the Friendly Islands he wrote :

"Future navigators will profit by the knowledge I acquired of the geography of this part of the Pacific Ocean. The more philosophical reader, who loves to view human nature in new situations, and to speculate on singular but faithful representations of the persons, customs, arts, religion, government and language of uncultivated man, in remote and fresh discovered quarters of the globe, will, perhaps, find matter of amusement, if not of instruction, in the information which I have been enabled to convey to him, concerning the inhabitants of the Archipelago."

Unfortunately, by refraining, when the chance offered, from spending a few days in sailing north from Adventure Bay Cook missed the honour and pleasure, so nearly within his reach, of discovering one of the great harbours of the universe, just as nearly, seven years before, he had missed seeing and appreciating that other great harbour, Port Jackson. Still more unfortunately it was not given to him to realize how far more important than the South Sea islanders, as subjects for closest study for the benefit of philosophers, were the uncultivated men whom it was his good fortune to meet with in Tasmania under favourable conditions.

On his arrival at Queen Charlotte's Sound Cook learnt the true story of the murder of the *Adventure's* boat's crew in 1773. After giving the matter full consideration he wisely refrained from putting to death the Maori chiefly responsible for the atrocity. Vengeance for what might have been a sudden and perhaps natural outburst of hostility did not appeal to his sense of justice, even when the culprit's fellow-countrymen asked for his execution as an act of retribution, and Omai, the Tahitian, strongly advised it.

Ten months after their hurried visit to Adventure Bay the *Resolution* and *Discovery* sailed north from the Society Islands, and Christmas Day, 1777, was spent at an island, lying almost on the Equator, to which the name Christmas Island was given, in honour of the festival. At this place large numbers of turtle

were caught, sufficient to supply the crews with fresh food for some weeks. Details of the further proceedings of the expedition belong to the story of the North Pacific, far from the scenes of Cook's earlier triumphs. The discovery of some of the Sandwich Islands in January 1778, the traverse of the American coast northward from Latitude 46°, the passage through Bering Strait and beyond to Icy Cape in the Arctic Ocean, the failure to find any sea route eastwards to the Atlantic, the examination of as much of the coast line in Bering Strait as could be carried out under adverse conditions, the return to the Sandwich Islands, which Cook proposed to survey systematically, all these occupied the time till December 1778. And then the end came. After sailing round Hawaii, the largest of the Sandwich Islands, only discovered after the return from the Arctic seas, the ships anchored on the 17th January 1779, in Kearakekua Bay, on the west coast of that island, and remained there for a fortnight. Relations with the inhabitants, who spoke the same language as the Tahitians, were of the most friendly description, and the greatest respect, amounting to a kind of worship, was shown to the Captain. On February 4th the ships put to sea, but returned a week later to carry out some repairs. A change in the attitude of the people was noticed, and many thefts from the ships occurred. These aggressions were dealt with by such severe measures as Cook's experience suggested, and the serious situation of the expedition demanded, but they were resented by some ill-disposed chiefs, who represented them to the natives as acts of warfare rather than safeguards against similar offences in the future.

On the 13th February a ship's boat was stolen, and Cook went ashore on the 14th with a small armed party to put in force his usual method in such emergencies, that was, to seize the king of the island as a hostage. The king, who was quite innocent of any evil intentions, agreed to accompany him on board, with his two sons. Returning to the boats Cook's party was attacked on the beach by an angry mob, incited to sudden fury by fear of punishment for the thefts. Four marines were killed, and Cook was struck on the head and then stabbed in the back. He fell into the water, but, struggling ashore, he resisted with failing strength the blows of innumerable assailants. He was quickly done to death by his murderers, who seized the dagger from one another to add to his wounds. A ship's boat, lying off the landing-place, failed to render much assistance, or to recover the captain's body, which was cut up by the natives, part of it being burnt and the rest distributed amongst the local chiefs. A few days later, when peace was restored, Captain

Clerke, who assumed command of the expedition, recovered some of the bones, and these were buried in the Bay.

Thus died this great sailor, "the ablest and most renowned Navigator any country hath produced". The best and ripest years of his laborious life had been spent in wresting from Nature, for the benefit of mankind, her hidden secrets of seas and shores and peoples in unknown parts of the world, secrets that were fully yielded only to enterprise, courage and skill of the finest order. But he himself regarded his highest crown of success to be the knowledge, attained by his efforts, enabling ships to be sailed on long voyages free from the dread disease, scurvy.

It is permissible to hazard the conjecture that had Cook lived he would have been chosen as leader of the expedition that laid the foundations of the colony of New South Wales in 1788. It is no disparagement of the first Governor, Arthur Phillip, to say that Captain Cook had proved himself to be an officer specially qualified to fill such a trying position. His intimate knowledge of the southern seas, his capacity for calling forth the best efforts, esteem, and loyalty of his subordinates and of the men placed under his charge, his never-failing zeal for their welfare, self-sacrifice in organizing and executing great schemes entrusted to his direction, would surely have had their due success and reward. Although this was not to be the reward, it is still and will ever remain a great one, for "The truest and best Memorial is the Map of the Pacific".

After Cook's death, when the command devolved on Captain Clerke, he removed to the *Resolution* and appointed Lieutenant Gore to be Captain of the *Discovery*. More work remained to be done, and the passing of the great chief did not interrupt it. The ships had made a survey of the Hawaii Islands, the manners and characteristics of the people, their government, religion and occupations had been observed and recorded, and it now became necessary to make another attempt at discovery in the Arctic seas. Captain Clerke directed his course to Petropavlovsk, in Kamchatka, and having obtained there some scanty supplies sailed into the Bering Sea, passed through Bering Strait, and endeavoured, as Cook had done the previous year, to find a way either east or west to the Atlantic. Blocked by a solid field of ice in every quarter, with the ships battered and leaking, and with sails and gear in bad condition, he decided at length that the vessels should return to England. For some months past Clerke's health had gradually been breaking down, and he did not live to see Petropavlovsk again. Captain Gore took charge on the *Resolution*, with James Burney as his First Lieutenant, and Lieutenant James King became Captain of the *Discovery*.

Captain Clerke was buried at Petropavlovsk, where the small Russian and Kamchatkan community on this, as on the earlier visit, welcomed the sea-weary navigators in warmest fashion, and though but poorly provided with those supplies that the British greatly needed, loaded them with such gifts as it lay in their power to bestow. So impressed had Clerke been, on his first visit to that outpost of civilization in the far north, with the hospitality, goodwill and sincere friendship of the Russian Commandant of the district, Major Behm, that he entrusted to him, as he was about to return overland to St. Petersburg, Cook's journal, his own journal as leader, and a chart of all the discoveries made, for transmission to England by the British Ambassador in Russia. The whole attitude of this public-spirited man towards the great enterprise of the British voyagers proves that he was well worthy of that signal mark of confidence. "The service in which you are employed", he told them, "is for the general advantage of mankind, and therefore gives you a right not merely to the offices of humanity, but to the privileges of citizens, in whatever country you may be thrown." That a citizen of another nation, himself a great though unfortunate navigator, was imbued with a similar high sense of reciprocity in good offices, a friendly action carried out on a later date at the same port, Petropavlovsk, bears witness, as will be told in due course.

When the ships left the Russian harbour for their homeward journey it was decided that Macao, the Portuguese settlement near Canton, should be the first place of call. It was most desirable, except under compulsion, to avoid Batavia, and the lesson of Cook's experiences at that unwholesome port was not forgotten. The unhealthiness of Batavia for the crews of ships was a mournful byword amongst sailors at that period, and it was fortunate that Gore, after skirting the Kurile Islands and the east coast of Japan, was able, in spite of some adverse weather, to make his port and anchor at Macao. This took place on the 2nd December 1779, and six weeks passed before the ships, with naval stores and provisions aboard, could sail away for home. While at Macao the crews made some profitable sales of the furs they had picked up at the cost of a few trifles during the voyage. The chances of such an apparently easy road to fortune opened up by this lucrative trade nearly brought them to the verge of mutiny, and they were prepared, even after the hardships they had undergone, to bear away for the American coast and northern seas, there to fill the ships with new purchases at little expense, and, returning to Macao, to sell the goods at enormous profit to the fur-loving Chinese.

The navigators had the satisfaction of learning before they left the China coast that commanders of French ships of war had been directed, in the event of their falling in with Cook's expedition, not to molest it in any way, and it was said that American vessels had received similar instructions. Gore thought himself bound therefore to observe the strictest neutrality throughout the voyage. The news received in China was confirmed by the Dutch Governor at the Cape, when the ships arrived at False Bay for a final provisioning. The Governor, as well as being a great admirer of Captain Cook, had a strong personal regard for him, and he commissioned the British officers to secure for him a portrait of their late chief. This he proposed to hang up in his residence at Cape Town, between pictures of two esteemed countrymen of his own, Tromp and Ruyter.

Nothing was lacking in the hospitality and warm reception extended to the party of discoverers by all Europeans at the Cape, and to maintain a correct attitude of neutrality and keep clear of any misunderstanding with the ships of other nations Gore refused to join a convoy of British ships sailing homewards from the East. Nevertheless, it would appear that a direct course to the Nore was avoided, for the ships passed round the west coast of Ireland and by the Orkneys to their home port, which was reached on the 4th of October 1780. During this remarkable voyage of over four years only five men were lost by sickness, and three of those had not been sound subjects at the beginning. Such a great achievement was due to the unremitting attention paid to the system established by Cook and to the trouble taken to secure supplies of fresh food whenever these were available. Under Providence Cook's personality dominated the march of events even to its end.

CHAPTER VII

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF AUSTRALIA, 1788
VOYAGE OF H.M.S. "BOUNTY", 1787–1789

BY his extensive explorations and surveys Cook had given to the world a wide knowledge of lands and islands in the southern seas and the Pacific, and the period had at last arrived when those regions were to be put to fruitful use for the benefit of mankind. Nevertheless, it was not till nine years after the navigator's death that the first steps were taken by Great Britain to found a colony in Australia. On that day, the 26th of January 1788, when at Sydney Captain Arthur Phillip took formal possession of New South Wales, the history of Tasmania as an integral part of the British Empire really began, and the Governor-General's Proclamation on the 7th of the following month clearly published to the outside world the fact that Van Diemen's Land formed the southern part of the territory under his command. Still regarded as a peninsula the Island saw the First Fleet arrive at its south coast, sail round its southern headlands and bear north for Botany Bay on its great mission. The events of those early days of colonization will not be dealt with in this volume, but during the interval between the passing of Phillip with the First Fleet and the first settlement by Lieutenant Bowen at Risdon, on the Derwent, Tasmania was visited by seven expeditions. As the work carried out by the leaders of these had its effect in increasing geographical knowledge and in adding to the information concerning the primitive inhabitants of the land gleaned by earlier visitors, the narratives of the voyages thus made naturally fall within the scope of this volume. Scores of the names dotted along the coast-lines shown on a map of Tasmania to-day illustrate the importance of three of the expeditions (those led by D'Entrecasteaux, Flinders and Baudin), which have contributed in full measure to "this rough island's story".

Of all the sea-tales connected with adventure in the Pacific and founded on facts woven into the history of the British Navy,

that of the ill-fated *Bounty*, commanded by Lieutenant Wm. Bligh, is the most dramatic, and, if not the saddest, at any rate one of the most pathetic. As the *Bounty* on her voyage anchored for a few days in Adventure Bay her story is linked with that of the island, while it was the fate of her commander, during the course of his eventful and varied career, to be associated on four occasions with Storm Bay, the last of these occurring some years after Hobart was settled. It is strange that this tale should have been brought again into some prominence by the opening of the Panama Canal, and by the creation of a new sea-route between New Zealand and England. For thereby regular association with the outside world has been rendered possible for those descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty* living on Pitcairn Island, and situated in what has been, till this change came, one of the loneliest parts of the Pacific (Plate 3). A short summary of the voyage of the ship and of subsequent events is all that can be given here.

Captain Cook's published accounts of the luxuriant growth of bread-fruit trees at Tahiti had inspired the merchants and planters of the West Indies with the idea that if the tree could be introduced from the Pacific it would provide a cheap and excellent food for labourers on plantations. A petition to King George III was favourably considered, and the ship *Bounty*, 215 tons, was specially fitted out for the transport of young plants from the East to the West Indies. Lieut. Wm. Bligh was placed in charge, and he had with him 45 people, including two skilled gardeners, to look after the plants. Bligh was appointed, no doubt, because of his skill as a seaman, and his knowledge of the South Sea islands, for he had been Cook's sailing-master in the *Resolution* on his last voyage, and had thus been in a position to obtain the best training available in navigation, in the management of a ship and of men during a long voyage, and in dealings with the islanders. Bligh's instructions directed him to sail to Tahiti by way of Cape Horn, but owing to the lateness of the season he obtained permission to follow the Cape of Good Hope route if necessary, and owing to adverse winds this latter course was taken.

The ship left Spithead on the 23rd December 1787, and anchored in Adventure Bay on the 20th August 1788, having passed a month in a vain attempt to round Cape Horn, and 38 days in refitting and in refreshing the ship's company at the Cape. Bligh's visit to Storm Bay was for the purpose of obtaining sufficient wood and water to carry him to Tahiti. The following extracts from his published account give in sufficient detail the observations made during this visit to Bruny Island:

21st August, 1788. The ship being moored I went in a boat to look for the most convenient place to wood and water at, which I found to be at the west end of the beach. The water was in a gully about 60 yards from the beach, the place is always dry in the summer months, for we found no water in it when I was here with Captain Cook in January 1777. We had very little success in hauling the seine; about 20 small flounders, and flat-headed fish called foxes, were all that were taken. I found no signs of the natives having lately frequented this bay, or of any European vessels having been here since the *Resolution* and *Discovery* in 1777.

22nd August. Mr. Nelson (botanist) informed me that, in his walks to-day, he found a tree in a very healthy state, which he measured, and found to be 33½ feet in girt.

23rd August. We had better success in fishing on board the ship than by hauling the seine; for with hooks and lines a number of fine rock-cod were caught.

25th August. Being in want of plank I directed a saw-pit to be dug, and employed some of the people to saw trees into plank.

(*In his Log-book Bligh made the following remark on this date: "The Snow still continues in some places on a high Flat Mountain to the Northward." This is the first recorded notice of Mount Wellington.*)

29th August. We continued to catch fish sufficient for everybody, and had better success with the seine. We were fortunate also, in angling in the lake, where we caught some fine tench. Some of the people felt a sickness from eating muscles, that were gathered from the rocks; but I believe it was occasioned by eating too many. We saw the trunk of a dead tree, on which had been cut "A.D. 1773." This must have been done by some of Captain Furneaux's people, in March 1773, fifteen years before. The east side of the bay not being so thick of wood as the other parts, and the soil being good, I fixed on it, at Nelson's recommendation, as the most proper situation for planting some of the fruit-trees which I had brought from the Cape of Good Hope. A circumstance much against anything succeeding here, is, that in the dry season, the fires made by the natives are apt to communicate to the dried grass and underwood, and to spread in such a manner as to endanger everything that cannot bear a severe scorching. We, however, chose what we thought the safest situation, and planted three fine young apple-trees, nine vines, six plantain-trees, a number of orange and lemon-seed, cherry-stones, plum, peach and apricot stones, pumpkins, also two sorts of Indian corn, and apple and pear kernels. The ground is well adapted for the trees, being of a rich loamy nature. Nelson followed the circuit of the bay, planting in such places as appeared most eligible. I have great hopes that some of these articles will succeed. Near the watering place we planted some onions, cabbage-roots, and potatoes. For some days past a number of whales were seen in the bay.

1st September. We observed, for the first time, signs of the natives being in the neighbourhood. Fires were seen on the low land, near Cape Frederick Henry, and at daylight we saw the natives with our glasses. As I expected they would come round to us, I remained

all the forenoon near the wooding and watering parties. I was, however, disappointed in my conjecture, for the natives did not appear, and there was too great a surf for a boat to land on the part where we had seen them.

2nd September. The natives not coming near us, I determined to go after them, and we set out, in a boat, towards Cape Frederick Henry, where we arrived about eleven o'clock. I found landing impracticable, and therefore came to a grapnel, in hopes of their coming to us, for we had passed several fires and I was sure they were in the neighbourhood. After waiting near an hour, I was surprised to see Nelson's assistant come out of the wood: he had wandered thus far in search of plants, and told me that he had met with some of the natives. Soon after we heard their voices like the cakling of geese, and twenty persons came out of the wood, twelve of whom went round to some rocks, where the boat could get nearer to the shore than we then were. Those who remained behind were women.

We approached within twenty yards of them, but there was no possibility of landing, and I could only throw to the shore, tied up in paper, the presents which I intended for them. I showed the different articles as I tied them up, but they would not untie the paper till I made an appearance of leaving them. They then opened the parcels, and, as they took the articles out, placed them on their heads. On seeing this, I returned towards them, when they instantly put everything out of their hands, and would not appear to take notice of anything that we had given them. After throwing a few more beads and nails on shore, I made signs for them to go to the ship, and they, likewise, made signs for me to land; but as this could not be effected, I left them, in hopes of a nearer interview at the watering place.

When they first came in sight, they made a prodigious chattering in their speech, and held their arms over their heads. They spoke so quick, that I could not catch one single word they uttered. We recollected one man, whom we had formerly seen among the party of the natives that came to us in 1777, and who is particularised in the account of Captain Cook's last voyage, for his humour and deformity. Some of them had a small stick, two or three feet long, in their hands, but no other weapon. Their colour, as Captain Cook remarks, is a dull black; their skin is scarified about their shoulders and breast. They were of a middle stature, or rather below it. One of them was distinguished by his body being coloured with red oker, but all the others were painted black, with a kind of soot, which was laid on so thick over their faces and shoulders, that it is difficult to say what they were like. They ran very nimbly over the rocks, had a very quick sight, and caught the small beads and nails, which I threw to them, with great dexterity. They talked to us sitting on their heels, with their knees close into their armpits, and were perfectly naked.

In my return towards the ship, I landed at the point of the harbour near Penguin Island, and from the hills, saw the water on the other side of the low isthmus of Cape Frederick Henry, which forms the bay of that name. It is very extensive, and in, or near, the middle of the

bay, there is a low island. From this spot, it has the appearance of being a very good and convenient harbour.

The account which I had from Brown, the botanist's assistant, was, that in his search for plants, he had met an old man, a young woman, and two or three children. The old man at first appeared alarmed, but became familiar on being presented with a knife. He nevertheless sent away the young woman, who went very reluctantly. He saw some miserable wigwams, in which were nothing but a few kangaroo skins spread on the ground, and a basket made of rushes.

3rd September. A calm prevented our sailing to-day. The friendly intercourse which we had had with the natives, made me expect that they would have paid us a visit ; but we saw nothing more of them, except fires in the night, upon the low land to the northward.

4th September. This forenoon, having a pleasant breeze at N.W., we weighed anchor and sailed out of Adventure Bay. This bay is a convenient and safe place for any number of ships to take in wood and water during the summer months. The bay of Frederick Henry may, perhaps, be found preferable, as it appears to be equally easy of access.

Fifty-two days after leaving Adventure Bay the *Bounty* anchored at Matavai Bay, Tahiti. A small group of islands near New Zealand had been discovered and named after the ship. The Tahitians showed the utmost goodwill towards all on board, and relations with the Chiefs were established on such good terms that the collection of young bread-fruit trees began at once, and the success of the voyage seemed assured. It was learnt that Omai, the Tahitian taken to Europe by Furneaux and returned to his native country by Cook during his last voyage, had died some two or three years after Cook's departure. The greatness thrust upon him by Furneaux's action had indeed been short-lived. By 3rd April 1789, a sufficient number of bread-fruit trees (over 1,000), together with other useful plants, had been shipped, and on the following day the ship left Tahiti. She had been there nearly six months, and during that time the relations between the ship's company, officers and men, and the easy-going, hospitable and affectionate islanders had been of the most harmonious description. "To the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people", wrote Bligh, "may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition, that there was every reason to hope, would have been completed in the most fortunate manner."

The Admiralty had given instructions that the *Bounty* should return to England by way of Endeavour (Torres) Strait, Java, and the Cape. The course was therefore set for the Friendly Islands (Tonga Group), some 1,500 miles to the west of Tahiti, and twenty days later the ship anchored at Namuka, north of

Tongatabu. Remaining here for three days to obtain water and provisions she resumed her voyage on the 27th of April.

On the following day, near the island of Tofua, with lightning-like rapidity, there fell upon Bligh such a blow as he must have been completely unprepared for. This was the revolt against his authority originated by his chief officer, Fletcher Christian, who received the prompt support of a commanding portion of the petty officers and crew, "the most able men of the ship's company", as Bligh himself described them. Turning for the moment from the causes which led up to this disaster, let us follow briefly the fortunes of the two parties thus abruptly sundered.

Bligh was set adrift with 18 others in the best boat available, the ship's launch, which was 23 feet long and less than 7 feet in beam. Under the circumstances she was not ill-provided, and for further supplies than those allowed by the mutineers there was little space available. Christian handed Bligh his own sextant and nautical tables; these with a compass composed the outfit for navigating the boat. Fortunately, Bligh was allowed to take with him the Log of the *Bounty*. The food would need to be replenished if the passage to a civilized port was to be successfully accomplished. Coupang, the Dutch settlement in Timor, became the objective, and the journey, 3,600 nautical miles, was eventually completed in 47 days after leaving the ship. On the course followed some of the Fiji Islands were passed and noted by Bligh, who could therefore claim to be their discoverer. By a happy chance, the weather was frequently cloudy and wet, an important consideration for men at sea in an open boat. After finding an opening in and passing through the Great Barrier Reef a landing was made on some islands where a few oysters were found. The success of this remarkable boat journey was due entirely to the high qualities of Bligh as a seaman, to the firm control he exercised over the men with him, and to his strict supervision of their scanty food supplies.

Of those who had been set adrift by the mutineers, one had been killed in an affray with natives when Bligh landed at Tofua to seek for additions to the stock of food. Nelson, the botanist, died at Coupang, and others died later, but twelve in all survived to reach Europe. The Dutch, both in Timor and in Java, did everything in their power for the comfort and relief of the distressed sailors. When Bligh arrived in England with his report of the mutiny public sympathy with him and his companions, on account of their bitter ordeal, was generously bestowed, and the leader received full credit for his skilful conduct of the boat-journey. He was promoted in rank, and in the following year

(1791) was placed in charge of an expedition similar to that which had ended so disastrously.

No better illustration of the saying "how oft the sight of means to do ill deeds makes ill deeds done" could be found than that occasion in the early hours of the 28th April 1789, when Fletcher Christian seized the opportunity which suddenly presented itself to him, and made himself master of the *Bounty*. His design came to him like a flash of inspiration born of the chance offered; he communicated it to a few of the seamen whom he could trust, and the fulfilment followed with ease and rapidity. Bligh was deposed without a blow being struck on his behalf by those who in no way approved of the revolt against authority. He was at this time about 36 years of age, and his youthful opponent, for the affair might well be called "The Mutiny of Fletcher Christian", was only 26. Christian's position was difficult, for the 24 people now under him composed two parties, the larger of which approved of the revolt, while the minority, including two midshipmen, aged respectively 21 and 16, were innocent of any complicity in it. Such a company could not hold together for long. Returning to Tahiti, where he was well received, Christian replenished his stores, and sailed to Tubuai, a small island south of Tahiti. Here he intended to make a settlement, trusting that any ship sent out to search for the *Bounty*, a course which he knew to be inevitable if Bligh succeeded in reaching England, might miss such a place in the wide expanse of ocean. This scheme fell through owing to the hostile attitude of the natives of the island, and to discontent among the Europeans, some of whom had no intention of spending the rest of their lives in such a place, if escape from it was practicable. The ship, therefore, returned to Tahiti, and those who were not prepared to follow the fortunes of Christian went ashore. Only eight of the *Bounty* men remained on board with their chief, but twenty islanders, men, women and children, had joined up, and now sailed away to share with him an uncertain future, and to be lost to all knowledge by the outside world till 1808, when an American ship sighted by chance Pitcairn Island, and, seeking for fresh water, found a small colony there. At that time only one of the *Bounty* mutineers, Alex. Smith, alias John Adams, able seaman, survived. All the others, with the exception of Young, one of the midshipmen, who died from asthma, had come to violent deaths owing to domestic quarrels. But a young generation was growing up, children of the mutineers and of Tahitian mothers, and Adams, the Father of the Community, who had probably never been a revolutionary, was now their pastor and teacher.

The community had increased to such an extent by 1856 that the British Government removed it, not without many heart pangs on the part of the islanders, to Norfolk Island, that place having ceased to be a penal establishment. Such, however, was the love for their own little island, the lovely spot where their forbears, Fletcher Christian and his companions, had found an asylum, that two families returned to it in 1858, and to their descendants has now come a closer association with the Empire to which each succeeding generation has been loyal.

When the sixteen persons who had elected to sever their connection with Christian in September 1789, went ashore at Tahiti, thereby throwing themselves without reserve upon the goodwill and hospitality of the islanders, those of them who had taken an active part in the deposition of Bligh must have known that they were taking considerable risks. For it was certain that the next British warship that arrived would arrest them and convey them back to England to be tried for their crime. However, after the easy-going and thoughtless manner of English sailormen, they were content to let the future take care of itself, and to make the most of their present agreeable and lazy life. But "Murder, with his stealthy pace", just as he followed Christian to what the mutineer so fondly hoped would be a haven of rest, and broke his life and that of others there, so now at Tahiti struck down two of the mutineers. The innocent members of the party, unable to leave the island, awaited with what patience they could summon to their aid an opportunity to return to England, in order that they might re-establish themselves in the eyes of their countrymen, and prove that they had borne no guilty part in open revolt against established authority.

Soon after the return of Bligh to England the frigate *Pandora* was fitted out by the Navy and dispatched to Tahiti to search for the *Bounty*, and to bring the mutineers in safe custody to England for trial. Unhappily for the *Bounty* people, Captain Edwards, who commanded the *Pandora*, was of a harsh and brutal disposition. When he anchored at Tahiti the innocent party immediately proceeded on board to report themselves, while the others were placed under arrest, as they were captured. All were treated alike by him, as if they were criminals and "piratical villains". As one writer put it, "his conduct was not only a disgrace to the Service, but to common humanity". After searching in vain for the *Bounty* for three months the *Pandora* made for Timor by way of Endeavour Strait, but was wrecked on a reef near the strait. Four of the *Bounty* men, including Stewart, a midshipman, one of the innocent party, and thirty of the *Pandora's* crew, were drowned. The barbarity

of the captain was shown by his determination to keep his prisoners in irons to the last possible moment; as a result two were drowned in handcuffs, and two went down with their leg-irons upon them.

When Edwards arrived in England with the remnants of his shattered and ill-conducted expedition, and with the ten *Bounty* prisoners, the latter were tried by Court Martial on board H.M.S. *Duke*, Lord Hood acting as President. The trial lasted from the 12th to the 18th of September 1792. The chief interest seems to have centred round the innocence or otherwise of the midshipman, Peter Heywood, who had been 14½ years old when the *Bounty* left England, not quite 16 when the mutiny occurred, and at the trial was but a little over 19 years of age. It was lucky for him that Bligh, having already started on his second voyage to Tahiti for bread-fruit trees, could not be present at the Court Martial, for he had somehow conceived, during the boat journey, an unaccountable dislike for the youth. It was afterwards known that he had suppressed, or at least omitted, a statement in his published account which was included in his original manuscript journal, evidence that must have entirely exonerated the midshipmen, Stewart and Heywood, from all blame. Lacking the support he should have received from Bligh, and judged by strict interpretation of naval law, Heywood was found guilty and condemned to death, but recommended to the King's mercy. Four men were acquitted, and three who were found guilty were executed. A little over a month later a full and free pardon was granted to Heywood, and two others who had been brought in guilty were also pardoned. Lord Hood at once recommended Heywood to rejoin the Navy, and offered to take him into the *Victory* under his own patronage. Heywood afterwards had a long and distinguished career as a Naval officer (8). He died in 1831.

We have now to consider the causes which led up to the mutiny that took place on the *Bounty* in April 1789. It was a rebellion against tyranny and injustice, and suddenly sprang fully armed into being, giving a new direction to the career of each man on the fated ship. The outbreak of feeling was due to the direct action of Fletcher Christian, and it was brought about by the conduct of Bligh, the commander (9). It was not primarily intended by the perpetrators to be an act of piracy, of disloyalty to their King and their country (though they knew that these results were inherent in the illegal course pursued), but it was an impulsive refusal to remain victims of the ungovernable ragings

(8) Note.
(9) Note.

and vindictive acts of one whom they considered an unworthy leader. Dissatisfaction appears to have been a smouldering element on board the *Bounty* from a date previous to her leaving England, caused chiefly by the fact that the Captain, as was the case in the Navy with ships of that size, combined with his own nautical duties those of a purser, that is, he had personal control of food and rations. It was unfortunate that a man with Bligh's temperament, and suspicious and somewhat grasping nature, should have been placed in such a relation with a ship's company, officers and men. His career in the Navy had been somewhat similar to that of Cook, but while Cook's qualities marked him as a heaven-born leader of men, Bligh's utter lack of self-control and of consideration for others had led him into courses which, by word and action, roused the bitterest feelings of opposition towards his methods and of hostility towards his person. A peculiar feature of his character was his belief that, after abusing a subordinate in some particularly offensive way, an offer of hospitality on his part ought to wipe out all resentment concerning the incident. Thus on the day preceding Christian's insurrection, he and the other officers had been accused by Bligh of stealing his coco-nuts. With particularly opprobrious terms he threatened all with such flogging that half of them would jump overboard before they reached Endeavour Strait. And yet Bligh invited Christian to dine with him that evening, an invitation declined by the officer, the excuse being given that he was unwell. It may be that Bligh was one of those persons who do not expect their language, however outrageous and uncalled for, to be taken at its face value. His threats of punishment, however, had so often been converted into action that his listeners were bound to credit him with believing the views he expressed.

It may be added in some extenuation of the unhappy circumstances connected with the *Bounty* that the period when these events occurred was one in which, in too many instances, those placed in authority over their fellow-men, in the Army, the Navy, in prisons, workhouses and factories, exercised their power in a harsh and arbitrary fashion. As one writer puts it, " it was a period quite extraordinarily uncivilised in spite of all its glamour ". It is not surprising, therefore, that while the spirit of the age remained so illiberal and oppressive, many of those called upon to occupy responsible positions, including numbers of those who had had far greater privileges and advantages than any given to Bligh in gaining experience in public service, should have failed so miserably to attain to a high sense of honour, and to adjust their methods of ruling others in terms of goodwill,

fair play and sympathy with human nature. Many years were to pass before more just and rational views gained ascendancy in England.

One incident of that eventful day when Bligh was deposed from his command and sent forth to make the wonderful boat journey that will always stand to his credit as that of a resourceful and clever seaman, needs to be told. When the launch had been filled with its human cargo and was so deeply laden as to be but a few inches above the level of the water, Bligh implored Christian to relent. " I'll pawn my honour, Mr. Christian," he asserted, " I'll give my word never to think of this if you desist. Consider my wife and family." To this Christian replied sternly, " No, Captain Bligh, if you had any honour, things would not have come to this extremity, and if you had any regard for your wife and family you should have thought of them before, and not behaved so like a villain as you have done." To the boatswain, who intervened, Christian declared, " It is too late. I have been in hell this fortnight past, and am determined to bear it no longer. You know that during the whole voyage I have been treated like a dog."

This occurrence had its parallel in that later and greater event in Bligh's life when, at Sydney in 1808, he was once again removed from his command, though in that instance not by part of a ship's company, but by the better part of a community, whose representatives accepted his pledged word given in a signed bond, and later found this to be—" a scrap of paper ".

CHAPTER VIII

(1) THE FRENCH EXPEDITION UNDER LA PÉROUSE, 1785–1788

IT has already been noted that a new era had arrived for the lands lying in the Pacific. The charts produced in Europe as the results of exploring expeditions, especially those of Cook, and the descriptive accounts that were published with them, had opened the eyes of some people outside Government circles, merchants, for instance, and their sea-captains, to possibilities of adventurous enterprise, with chances of good profit, in those new fields now revealed to them. We have seen how at an earlier date, 1771, the Frenchman, Marion du Fresne, fitted out an expedition for the honour of science, and with a strong desire to obtain glory in making discoveries. But it is fairly certain that he had in mind some idea of commercial gain which was to be an accompaniment to the personal renown he sought for.

The disastrous voyage of La Pérouse belongs to the age of development that had now arrived. Although his ships are not known to have visited Tasmania, the coasts of that land were included in his programme of work, and a prominent peak in the island has received his name, while the French expedition under D'Entrecasteaux, sent out to search for this unfortunate navigator and his companions, achieved its most important results on the south side of the island, as will be told in the proper place.

At its inception the enterprise embraced the political with the mercantile point of view. Strongly supported by the French King, Louis XVI, who was inspired by the great work of Cook, and recognized the advantages to science and to commerce of France that successful imitation of that navigator's activities might bring to his subjects, the scheme took on the form of a first-class model of its kind. Two frigates, the *Boussole* and the *Astrolabe*, were fitted out at Brest, the complement of each being 100 men, and Jean François Galoup de La Pérouse was selected as leader. Born in 1741, this officer had entered the French Navy in 1756, had attained the rank of Captain in 1780, and had

distinguished himself in the wars of his country against Great Britain. At the time of his appointment he was acknowledged to be the finest seaman of his country; this, in conjunction with his high character and other fine qualifications, marked him out as the most suitable leader. The instructions given to La Pérouse were drawn up by Count de Fleurieu, whose position towards French scientific exploratory efforts—in his keenness to help them forward by his advice, assistance and influence—resembled in such matters that of Sir Joseph Banks, who, as President of the Royal Society and adviser to the British Government, had already entered on his wonderful career as a promoter of scientific projects in many directions, and who presently became the enthusiastic supporter and adjutant of that other great scheme, the colonization of New South Wales. With an ardour characteristic of the French nation an appeal was made to its learned men for advice regarding the research work it was proposed to carry out, and several scientists with high qualifications were included as a necessary part of the company to assist in its investigations. Of these the chief was Paul Lemanon, naturalist, who joined up as a volunteer, somewhat as Banks had associated himself with Cook on his first voyage, but with this stipulation, that he should be allowed to quit should he desire at any time to do so.

The ships left France in August 1785, and after rounding Cape Horn, touching at a port in Chili, at Easter Island, and at the Sandwich Isles, reached a point on the Alaska coast in 60° N., near Mt. St. Elias. Three months were then spent in traversing and charting the coast southwards, as far as Monterey, near San Francisco. After resting here for a short time La Pérouse sailed to Macao, where he refitted, then on to Manilla, in the Philippines, where the ships remained some weeks, February to April 1787, for refreshment. The second part of the programme was now taken in hand; this consisted of explorations of certain parts of the Sea of Japan, little known at that period. Entering this Sea between Korea and Japan the navigator worked north till he reached Chinese Tartary; he then passed into the Gulf of Tartary, between the Asiatic mainland and Sakhalin, and continued his course till he was stopped by the shallow waters caused by the discharge of the Amur. A channel through this passage was sought in vain. Turning back he discovered and passed through the strait, which now bears his name, between Sakhalin and Yezo, the northern island of Japan. Skirting the Kurile Islands the ships reached Petropavlovsk, in Kamchatka, where a stay of three weeks was made in September 1787. From this port de Lesseps, the interpreter of the expedition and a son of the French Consul-General at St. Petersburg, taking with him journals and

maps of the work already accomplished, set out to return overland to Europe. This journey, remarkable in itself considering the difficulties involved, was safely accomplished. It is worthy of note that this intrepid messenger, the one survivor of the enterprise led by La Pérouse, was an uncle of Baron de Lesseps, whose determination, tenacity of purpose and skill brought into being the Suez Canal. It was while the ships were in Kamchatkan waters that news of the British intention to establish a settlement somewhere in New South Wales was received.

La Pérouse now turned his face southwards towards Australia. He called at the Navigator Islands (Samoa), and here he had the misfortune, in an attack made by the islanders on a landing party, to lose the commander of the *Astrolabe*, de Langle, a personal friend of his own, and the naturalist Paul Lemanon, together with ten of the crew. They were in fact stoned to death. To those who study a present-day map of Tasmania the name of the scientist who died on that occasion has a familiar ring. After touching at the Friendly Islands the ships sailed for Botany Bay, where they anchored on the 26th of January 1788, the very day when Phillip, in Sydney Cove, was taking formal possession of the land.

The arrival of the foreign ships naturally caused considerable excitement amongst the British officers. Their sails had first been sighted on the 24th, and it took the frigates two days, beating against adverse winds, to work into the Bay. In the meantime Phillip, who had already visited Port Jackson and determined to settle there, and not knowing the intentions of the newcomers, hurried off to Sydney Cove on the 25th to carry out his ceremony, leaving instructions with Captain Hunter to follow on with the Fleet. The visitors, however, had no hostile intentions, and friendly relations were soon established. La Pérouse remained at anchor in Botany Bay for some weeks (10). He seems to have gone there chiefly for wood and water and to repair the ships' boats, perhaps even to discover, as he was entitled to do, where the British had established themselves. No meeting with Phillip took place, but before leaving he obtained the Governor's permission to forward his journals and charts by one of the English ships to England, for transmission to France.

In his last letter to the Ministry of Marine written at Botany Bay and dated the 7th of February 1788, the same day that Phillip was issuing his Proclamation defining the boundaries of the territory thus brought under British control, La Pérouse stated his intention of returning to the Friendly Isles, then carrying out the instruction he had received relating to the southern part of

(10) Note.

New Caledonia, Santa Cruz, the Solomon Islands and the Louisiade Group. At the end of July he proposed to pass between New Guinea and Australia by some other channel than Endeavour Strait, if one existed. During September and part of October the Gulf of Carpentaria and the west coast of Australia, as far as Tasmania, were to be visited, but all this in such manner as to give him time to return to the Isle of France by December 1788. Sailing from Botany Bay on the 10th of March the French ships passed to their sad end. The fate of the expedition remained a mystery of the seas till 1827, when Captain Dillon, in the ship *Research*, discovered at Vanikoro, a small island of the Santa Cruz group, undoubted proof that both ships had been wrecked there. After some forty years the story, as gleaned from the natives, had become vague and colourless, but it would appear that a few of the Frenchmen, perhaps even the leader, managed to get ashore. Of the survivors some were said to have built a boat and gone off and the others to have died on the island.

Australians have held in high regard, and will continue so to hold, the memory of this chivalrous and humane navigator. A true disciple of Cook, whose narratives and methods he studied with the greatest care, seeking to emulate his successes, perhaps nothing will serve better to show the appreciation of the French discoverer for his English predecessor than his remark to Lieutenant King, who was sent from Sydney by Governor Phillip to offer him any help he might need while he was anchored at Botany Bay. "To sum up," said La Pérouse, "Mr. Cook has accomplished so much that he has left me nothing to do but to admire his works." The monument now standing at Botany Bay was erected by the French Government in 1825 to do honour to their great sailor. As an Australian historian has well said, "It serves not only as a reminder of a fine character and a full, rich and manly life, but of a series of historical events that are of capital consequence in the exploration and occupation of Australia."

(2) THE VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN JOHN HENRY COX, 1789

The reasons given for the voyage of Captain John Henry Cox in the brig *Mercury*, 152 tons, in the year 1789, remind us of those which were stated to have sent Marion to the Pacific Ocean. The brief account written by Lieut. George Mortimer, of the Marines, credits the originator of the expedition with having been "excited by a laudable curiosity to explore remote regions and a desire to add to the science of geography and nautical knowledge", but he admits that the fur trade of the north-west coast

of America was the ultimate object. The narrator quaintly remarks that he was not altogether acquainted with Cox's motives, but that he understood that rather than travel direct by an East Indiaman to Canton, where he had business interests, he preferred to equip his own vessel and proceed there by the South Sea islands and Unalaska. It may be accepted, therefore, that the voyage, though not lacking in a certain element of adventure, was carried out to explore the possibilities of trade and industrial development in whale and seal fishing and fur hunting in the regions visited. As Cox has inscribed his name on the map of Tasmania and was the discoverer of Oyster Bay on the western side of Maria Island, his roving excursion has its niche, albeit a small one, in the annals of the island.

The vessel left England on the 28th of February 1789, and after staying for a fortnight at Teneriffe to refit and obtain stores sailed for the southern sea. Avoiding the Cape she reached the island of St. Paul (now a French possession) at the end of May. This halt, which lasted six days, was a lucrative one for the *Mercury*, nearly a thousand seal-skins "of a very superior quality" being secured, besides several casks of good oil. Mortimer called the island where the ship anchored "Amsterdam", and the island to the north of it "St. Paul's", a reversal of names due to lack of information. The visit of the *Mercury*, however, is noteworthy, for it marks the beginning of that deplorable and uncontrolled exploitation of seal fishing at those islands, in Tasmania, New Zealand and elsewhere, which resulted in the practical extermination of that most useful animal.

The essential features of the visit to Tasmania, the coast of which was reached on 3rd July, after a quick run from Europe, are given in the words of the narrator:

"At half past ten we descried the coast of New Holland; and at noon were about four miles from the shore. At one in the afternoon we were abreast of the South West Cape; and at two off the rock called the Mewstone. At six in the evening we entered a deep bay and came to an anchor, the Mewstone bearing South by East, distant ten miles. Early next morning, a party of us went on shore in the cutter in search of water. We landed about four miles from the ship. We had scarce stepped out of the boat before we found a small stream of fresh water. Near the beach, and close to the stream, we found a small hut, or rather hovel, of a circular form, open at the top, and rudely constructed of branches of trees, and dried leaves, so as barely to afford a shelter from the inclemency of the weather. Around it were scattered a great quantity of pearl, escallop, oyster and other shells, which had been lately roasted: these and several other appearances induced us to believe the natives had not long quitted this spot, and were at no great distance from us. The Captain, myself, and our second and third

mates went to take a view of the country. We made a circuit of about six miles, and found it agreeably interspersed with hills and vallies. Some of the hills were richly and luxuriantly clothed with trees to their very summits, though many of them were of great height. We were unsuccessful in meeting with any of the natives, though we saw traces of them in several places." (Plate 7.)

"A heavy sea setting into the bay on the morning of the 5th we hove short, but were obliged to cut the cable and make sail, leaving our anchor behind us. We kept well in with the shore, and at noon the South Cape of New Holland, or Van Diemen's Land, bore North East by East, distant about five leagues. At nine the next night, we were abreast of Tasman's Head. We kept working to windward all the night of the 7th, supposing ourselves nearly at Adventure Bay, where we proposed to anchor to procure a stock of wood, complete our watering &c.; but at daylight found we had got farther to the northward than we had imagined, and that we were among the Maria Islands. At eight in the morning, the small boat was hoisted out, and our captain went on shore in her to the South West of us in search of fresh water, but returned without having met with any. I afterwards accompanied him and our second mate in the cutter to an Island to the North East where we landed in a deep bay, with a fine white sandy beach. We soon found a small stream of fresh water: and having sounded the bay and found a sufficient depth of water for the ship, made a signal for her to stand in and come to an anchor; which she did about three in the afternoon. Captain Cox named this Oyster Bay; it is quite land-locked and sheltered from the wind in every direction. It lies in latitude 42° 42′ South, and longitude 148° 25′ East." (Plate 7.)

"Most of our people were now sent on shore to procure wood and water, which we soon found in sufficient plenty: the wood was in as great abundance as on the main land: and here were also evident marks of inhabitants, most of the large trees being hollowed out by fire, so as to form a shelter from the weather, and great quantities of shells heaped about them. I met also with a hut similar in point of form to that I had before seen on the main, only this was constructed of the bark instead of the leaves and branches of trees. As the bark appeared to be newly peeled off, we were in hopes we should soon be gratified with a sight of the natives: in this we were not disappointed, for the cutter being on shore on the 9th, a smoke was observed on the opposite side of the bay from that where she was stationed. Our third mate immediately went in towards it; and on landing, saw several of them moving off with pieces of lighted wood in their hands. He approached them alone and unarmed, making every sign of friendship his fancy could suggest; but though they mimicked his actions exactly, and laughed heartily, he could not prevail upon them to stay: he continued advancing, and they retreating, till they passed a marsh, and he was prevented from going any farther."

"The next morning (the 10th) we again saw a smoke, nearly in the same direction as before, and proceeded as fast as possible to the spot. As we approached the shore, we observed several of the natives about

the fire, and walking among the trees, some of them carrying very long poles and pieces of lighted wood in their hands. When they perceived we had landed, and were pretty near them, they began to chatter very loud and walk away; upon which we called to them, imitating their noise as well as we could, and had the satisfaction to see them stop at a little distance from us. Several of them having long poles or spears in their hands, we made signs to them to throw them aside, with which they immediately complied; and we in return put away our muskets. They now suffered us to come so near them as to take some biscuit, a penknife, and other trifles from us; but they took great care to avoid being touched. Some of them, indeed, would not accept of anything unless it was thrown to them; and the whole party kept edging off by degrees. They seemed eager to procure everything they saw; and had a great inclination for our hats. Mr. Cox gave one of them a silk handkerchief; and he threw him in return a fillet of skin that he wore tried round his head. The party which we saw consisted of about fourteen or fifteen men and women; but there were several more concealed among the trees: they were of a dull black, or dusky colour, with woolly heads. Most of them were of middle size; and, though lean, were square and muscular. We observed several of them to be tatooed in a very curious manner, the skin being raised so as to form a kind of relief; besides which, their bodies appeared to be daubed with a kind of dirty red paint, or earth. They were entirely naked, except one man, who had a necklace of small shells, and some of the women who had a kind of cloak or bag thrown over their shoulders; in which, I suppose, they carry their children, and what few moveables they possess. Upon the whole they seemed to us to be a timorous, harmless race of people, and afford a fine picture of human nature in its most rude and uncultivated state. We spent some time in endeavouring to inspire these people with confidence; but though they appeared to be very merry, laughing and mimicking our actions, and frequently repeating the words Warra, Warra, Wai, they kept retiring very fast; and as we imagined they beckoned us to follow them, we attempted it for a little while but soon lost them among the trees."

"Mr. Cox having returned on board, our first and third mates and myself being willing, if possible, to see something more of these singular people, followed the track they had taken as nearly as we could guess. After having walked about a mile, we saw a smoke upon an eminence near a bay on the opposite side of the Island, and made all the haste we could to come up with it; but the natives had fled before our arrival: possibly they had been alarmed at the report of our fuzees, as we had fired several times in the course of our walk. We found they had kindled a large fire, and near it lay several little baskets made of rushes, in which were most of the articles we had given them, carefully tied up together, with a few flints and stones, and a little dried grass; from which circumstances I conclude they produce fire by collision: there were besides three small buckets for holding water, made of a tough kind of seaweed, and skewered together at the sides: These seem to be their whole stock of domestic utensils; and their only weapon was a rude spear, or lance, which is cut or scraped to a point at one end.

Mr. Cox, at the interview we had with the natives, made signs to one of them to throw his spear, which he did, to a considerable distance, and with a good deal of force ; but I cannot conceive them to be a dangerous weapon. After we had regaled ourselves with some cold provision we had brought with us, sitting by the fire the natives had just quitted, we returned, leaving several articles on the spot for them, as it was likely they would soon return for the things they had left behind them in their hurry."

" We found a great number of paroquets in the woods, and a variety of small birds ; some of them of a most beautiful and delicate plumage : there were besides, crows, exactly like those we have in England, and abundance of sea-fowl ; particularly a large white bird, something bigger than a swan, with black tips to its wings, and enormous sized beak. Most of these birds were very shy, so that we conjectured they were hunted by the natives. Though it was now the depth of winter in this part of the world, we found the weather very mild and pleasant, the thermometer keeping from 51° to 56° during our stay here. I picked up a large quantity of wild parsley, which we eat in salads, and found it very acceptable. We did not procure any fish here with our hooks and lines ; and thought it very extraordinary, that though we saw such a prodigious number of oyster and other shells scattered about in every direction; we could not obtain any with the fish in them : certain it is, that the natives procure them in abundance ; but whether by diving for them, or by what other means, I cannot say."

" As we had now got a sufficient stock of wood and water on board, and were ready for sea, all hands were sent on shore to wash their linen, and amuse themselves as they thought proper. The next day, the 11th, we got under weigh, with a light breeze from the North North West, and sailed out of Oyster Bay by a passage to the Southward, opposite to that by which we came in. At noon, Cape Frederick Henry bore South, distant ten or twelve miles." (11)

After leaving Tasmania the *Mercury* made for Tahiti, arriving there in August, and having passed at night close to Tubuai, where Fletcher Christian was engaged on his unsuccessful attempt to make a settlement. It thus happened that Cox saw nothing of the *Bounty* people, who returned to Tahiti three weeks after the *Mercury* had sailed away. Thus the innocent party of the *Bounty*, anxious to return to Europe to vindicate their conduct, missed an opportunity which might have offered to effect their purpose under less barbarous and cruel conditions than those from which it was their fate to suffer after the *Pandora* appeared on the scene.

From Tahiti Cox went to the Sandwich Islands and then sailed to Unalaska, one of the Fox Islands, where he saw for himself how the Russian traders were carrying on the business of

(11) Note.

collecting furs. The voyage, which lasted just over ten months, came to an end at Canton on the 1st of January 1790.

Cox's contributions to geographical knowledge concerning Tasmania were of little importance, and his principal discovery, the existence of Oyster Bay on Maria Island, was submerged in the scientific survey made by the French expedition led by Baudin in 1802. Nevertheless the name given by Cox to that bay has rightly persisted to this day, just as, with equal propriety, the bight or bay explored by him on the south coast retains his name in honour of his examination of it.

CHAPTER IX

CAPTAIN BLIGH'S SECOND VOYAGE TO TAHITI, 1791–1793

WHEN Lieutenant William Bligh landed in England in March 1790, and told his story of the enterprise that had been carried so far towards complete success, and had only been brought to disaster by a deplorable mutiny, the Government decided that a second attempt to transplant bread-fruit trees from Tahiti to the West Indies ought to be made. Bligh was selected as the most suitable officer to take charge of this new venture. In recognition of his services and of the masterly manner in which he had conducted the boat journey, a feat in navigation that had secured the public commendation it deserved, he was first promoted to the rank of commander, and a little later to that of a post-captain. It was thought advisable that two vessels should be commissioned for the errand from which so much was expected, and the *Providence*, a new ship of 480 tons, and the *Assistant*, 110 tons, were fitted out for the voyage. The command of the little consort was entrusted to Lieutenant Nathaniel Portlock, a choice well justified by later events. Two botanists, William Wiles and Christopher Smith, were attached to the expedition. The complement of the *Providence* was 100 men, including 20 Marines, and that of the *Assistant* 27 men, of whom 4 were Marines.

The ships left England on the 3rd of August 1791, and after calling in first at Teneriffe and then at Porto Praya, in the Cape Verde Islands, reached Cape Town on the 6th of November, remaining there for nearly six weeks. At Teneriffe Bligh had a severe attack of fever : this was sufficiently serious to compel him to arrange for the commands of the two vessels in the event of his death, and there are frequent references in his log of the voyage to the Cape to the severe headaches from which he continually suffered. He remarked on the visit to Table Bay: "During my stay in this place nothing intervened of a material nature, or scarce worth relating. The Ships were got ready for sea with every advantage to pursue my Voyage, and my disease

which was now a slow Nervous Fever and a distracted Head Ache, began to wear away." One incident of some interest, however, did occur : this was the arrival of Captain John Hunter, who was bound for England, with some of his officers and crew, in a brig hired from the Dutch. Hunter had been in charge of the *Sirius*, (one of the First Fleet), which was wrecked at Norfolk Island in March 1790, and Governor Phillip, short of other means of transport, had been compelled to charter at a heavy rate per month this slow-sailing Dutch vessel. She had spent six months on the voyage from Sydney to Batavia, and another two months in reaching the Cape. Bligh rendered much needed assistance to enable this bad sailer to work into Table Bay and come to a safe anchorage, an operation only successful after repeated attempts extending over several days.

Giving Lieutenant Portlock Adventure Bay as a rendezvous in case the ships were separated, with Tahiti, as a second meeting-place if they failed to come together at the Bay, Bligh set out on his easterly course across the Indian Ocean. Considering the difference in the sizes of the two vessels difficulty in keeping together in bad weather might well be expected, but care on the part of each commander overcame this danger. Portlock ably seconded his leader's efforts that neither ship should lose sight of the other. It was evidence of good seamanship that they did not part company throughout the voyage, and maintained the principle of mutual help which had brought them together for one purpose.

The island of St. Paul was sighted on 17th January 1792. Bligh had wished to land here and ascertain if fresh water was obtainable, but foggy weather prevented him from carrying out this design. On the 8th of February the coast of Tasmania was seen, and on the following day the ships anchored in Adventure Bay. They had gone there for wood and water, and full supplies of these were obtained during the two weeks they remained there. Although it was summer time the weather was bad, and Bligh states that he was unable to explore Frederick Henry Bay in the *Assistant* as he had wished to do. Had he entered this misnamed inlet he would probably have discovered the existence of the channel presently to be surveyed and named by D'Entrecasteaux. The French expedition, indeed, was already well on its way to Tasmania, and sailed from the Cape while Bligh was still anchored in Adventure Bay. One feature of the landscape, Mt. Wellington, was noted in his log. In the rough sketch attached to the log and having the high-sounding title " A Survey of Van Dieman's Land ", this bears the name " Table Hill ", a descriptive term which survived for a considerable period. A time came, seventeen years

later, when the commander of the *Providence* grew more familiar not only with the features and grandeur of this prominent landmark, but with the true outlines of the real Storm Bay, which has never been more worthy of its name than during that chapter of Bligh's varied and occasionally crumpled career.

The notes made in their logs by the officers of the two ships concerning their visit to Adventure Bay are of minor weight compared with the important descriptive accounts and testimony soon to be provided by the French expedition which was following so closely in their tracks. Nevertheless it is due to the earlier visitors, and because they are not lacking in historical value, to set down those things that impressed them and the events they recorded. The "Remarks" in Bligh's log summarize his own observations and those of his junior officers during their excursions, and the essential parts of these are now given.

9th Feb^{y}. Came in to Adventure Bay, *Assistant* in Company. I went on Shore to determine where we should Water at, and fix my Wooding Party, at the same time sent the Cutter with the Seine. The best Water I found at the Watering place of the *Resolution* about a half mile without the West End of the Beach. It is a fine plentifull Stream, and the best Water in this place if not as good as any whatever. At this place we saw a Wigwam and some recent marks of the Natives having been lately at it. Many Mussel Shells and some Craw Fish were heaped up as if they had fed there for a considerable time. We picked up some handfulls of fine shavings of Wood, which I believe they prepare to light their Fires with, and a bundle of dried inside Bark tied up two feet long intended for a flambeau. The Wigwam would cover about Six People, its form is a perfect section of a Bee Hive, the open part being to the N.E. The covering was large pieces of Bark, but was neither Wind nor Water-tight.

10th Feb^{y}. Mr. Wiles and Mr. Smith the Botanists were employed about the Hills and planted in the fresh Water at the East End of the Beach a Pot of Water Cresses. On a Tree a few yards from it I had cut a Memorandum.

11th Feb^{y}. The *Assistant* having a small boat I had it carried into the Lake to enable me to examine its extent. It winds through a flat circumscribed by the Hills about $\frac{3}{4}$ Mile at most from the Beach. It was in all parts brackish. It abounds with Bream, of which we caught Seven in a few Minutes with Hook and Line beated with Mussels—the largest Fish weighed about a pound. I sent the Botanists to-day to plant some young Oaks, Pomegranates, Strawberrys, Quinces and Figs, upon the rising Grounds near the Lake at the East end of the Beach. They Planted 5 Figs, 9 Oaks, 3 Quinces, 1 Rosemary, 20 Strawberrys and 3 Pomegranates. Haul'd the Seine and caught a few Fish, but we benefit most by our hooks and Lines.

12th Feb^{y}. About Sunset, after our day's work, I took my Rod and Line to the Lake, where in an hour I caught 21 Bream the largest

about 1½ lb. and the smallest about a half pound. I fished with a float and it was very good amusement. At Night the Botanists returned, having been towards Cape Frederick Henry. On the low land they saw some deserted Wigwams, but no recent Marks of the Natives. They got some valuable Specimens, and suppose the narrowest part of C. F. Henry Bay was about 300 yards.

13th Feb^{y}. Anglers in the Lake caught many fine Bream which may be considered the richest Fish we are acquainted with. Some weighed 2½ pounds. Several Seals have been seen, and (we) have caught several Sharks. A few Ducks have been killed, Shags and Gannets, the latter roasted with its Skin off is preferable to any of the others, and is remarkably free of any fishy taste. From the heights of Penguin Island Frederick Henry Bay can be seen distinctly & an Island in it.

16th Feb. It was a peculiar satisfaction to me to find one of the Apple Trees I had planted here in 1788—only one remained, and this altho alive and healthy, had not made a shoot exceeding 12 or 13 Inches. Some of the Gentlemen in their Walks to-day saw several Partridges, they were not so large or brown as ours in England, but in other respects the same.

17th Feb^{y}. Our Botanists are Zealously employed and have travelled back as far as the Top of Nelson's Hill, which I have named after Mr. Nelson who was Botanist in my last Voyage and the first Man ever on it. On Nelson Hill they found no mark of Fire, so that we may readily suppose that the Natives do not take the trouble to go near it.

18th Feb^{y}. We saw Smokes nearer to us about the low land of Frederick Henry than has yet been observed. I have every day intended to go round into the Bay of Frederick Henry in the *Assistant*, but the Weather is so bad, that I cannot do it with propriety, and my time now makes it doubtfull if I can accomplish it. Among the Wood cut in East Cove is a kind called Snake Wood,—it is remarkable in its growth by the grain growing in a Wave. It is used in pinearing (*veneering*) & was accidentally discovered by one of our People having heard of it at home, & desired to look after it. I could only find that one Tree of it was cut down. Unfortunately from burning the branches we could not find the Leaf of the Tree, but it is certainly one of the Metrocidera kinds. Lieut. Guthrie in an excursion to-day killed an animal of a very odd form. It was 17 Inches long and the same size round the shoulders, to which rather a small flat head is connected so close that it can scarcely be said to have a neck. It has no mouth like any other animal, but a kind of Duck Bill 2 Inches long which opens at the extremity where it will not admit above the size of a small Pistol Ball. The tongue is very small. The Eyes are remarkably small and lie just above the beak. It has no Tail, but a rump not unlike that of a Penguin, on which are some quills like those of a Porcupine. These Quills are all over its back amidst a thick coat of rusty brown hair. (*This animal was a Tasmanian Duck-Bill or Platypus.*)

19th Feb^{y}. As I saw no evident signs of the Natives being near us, I allowed two or three people on shore on leave every day. This

afternoon they met with about Two & Twenty Men & Women at Gully Head, near the low land of Frederick Henry. There was so much surprise on both sides mixed with fear, that their interview was very short, and the whole information I got, was that there were Six Women, one had a Child on her back, and all of them had a piece of Skin for a covering over the lower part of the Belly. The men, seventeen in number, were all naked, and had thick beards, but they did not observe any paint or dirt about their Skins, or the Women's hair cut as described by Capt. Cook. Some pieces of Bread were given to them which they eat, altho some trifles, such as rings which were offered, they would not accept. Our party finding them shy of any further intercourse, left the place, leaving a Hatchet Handkerchief & a Knife as a proof of their friendly intentions. They found four Lances, and the Short Sticks described by Capn Cook. The Lances are straight and taper, and fit for Trout Fishing Rods, and about 10 feet 6 Inches long, at the big end it is not above ¾ Inch Diameter. They were very desirous to have a Hat, but the Weather was too Wet for their Visitors to spare one. Mortimer remarks in Oyster Bay of the Natives asking for Hats.

20th Febv. I should have endeavoured to have got out to Sea, but one of the *Assistant's* people absented himself from the Boat, and altho search was made after him, and Guns fired from the Ship, we could hear no tydings of him. Fires were made about the Shore for the Night, and I directed a light to be left all Night at the Ships Masts Heads, that the poor fellow might find his way to the Bay.

21st Febv. The Parties who were sent particularly after the Man, whose name is Bennet, missed him, but very fortunately Mr. Pearce, the Lieut. of Marines, and the Botanists found him a little from the Beach, and brought him to me where I was observing. It is wonderfull to relate that this unhappy Creature had determined to stay behind with a wish to perish, and never to return to his Native Country. I found he was of creditable parents, but had been a disgrace to them, and therefore they had recommended him to go this Voyage, as the most elligible either to improve or send him to destruction. Our minds were now at ease. The Man was kindly taken care of, and I ordered the Ships to be towed further out of the Bay where we were obliged to anchor in 15 Fathoms, it being perfectly calm.

22nd Febv. At daybreak with fair Winds we got under Sail. As I was anxious to know something of the entrance into Frederick Henry Bay, I steered round the head, to the North, as far up as three Leagues. At ¾ past 9 I hauled to the Wind, which was freshening at South. A sloping point lying under the Table Land where is the only entrance into Frederick Henry Bay (if any) N 47 W dist. 5 Miles. The Country looked in all parts pleasant and covered with Wood. We saw numerous Fires as if the Country were fuller of Inhabitants than has hitherto been supposed, and particularly about the Shore of the Table Mountain, where it is certainly the finest part of the Country and most likely place to find Rivers. I did not feel myself justified to examine this place, from my being so late in the Season for Otaheite, I therefore reluctantly gave it up.

23rd Febʸ. A very fresh Gale and cloudy weather. Carrying all possible sail to work out and clear the land, tacking Ship occasionally. Saw the *Assistant* with her Fore yard gone. Stood past C. F. Henry into Adventure Bay. Made the Signal to anchor. Sent hands on board the *Assistant* to assist in preparing her for sea.

24th Febʸ. Weighed and sailed, the *Assistant* in Company. Seals and porpoises seen. We lost but a little time in being put back again into this Bay, for the winds were trifling and contrary. To make up for this, the *Assistant* got completely refitted, and we employed ourselves to the best advantage.

General Remarks—My third visit to this Country has been attended with scarce any new occurrence. I had hopes my endeavours to serve it in my last Voyage might have been productive of some good, but of all the articles I planted only one Apple Tree remains. Those that were planted with it have been certainly destroyed by fire and the fall of Trees. I cannot help reflecting on my inattention in not searching after the most advantageous thing I planted,—this was Potatoes. I saw no vestige above the ground, and never thought of digging until I came away. It is not impossible they have increased. I am sanguine in my expectations that the Cock and Two Hens I have now left will breed and get wild. During my stay here the Weather has been so unsettled and boisterous as any of our unseasonable Summer or Autumn Months in England. We have had both Hail and Snow, and the latter lay on the Table Mountain for some days. The unseasonableness of this season had more than the common signs of bad weather, it kept the Fish out of the Bay. A mosquito was scarce to be seen even in the Swamps and the Flys were not troublesome as in hot weather, when both the one and the other are scarcely bearable. The finest Fish are the Bream caught in the Marsh, they are highly delicious and afford very excellent diversion fishing with a Float, & beating with Worms or Muscles. In the Winter Season I saw many Spider Crabs, but at this time I saw not one or any Whales. In August 1788 we had many in the Bay—they were the Bone or right Whale, as they are called, having two blow holes, whereas the Spermaceti have but one. It appears from the accounts of the Whale Fishers that the Whales are remarkably fixed in the time of coming into Bays & upon open Coasts, it is probable therefore that this may be the time about Van Diemen's Land, as we have not seen them in the Summer Months.

The Wigwams have large heaps of Muscle Shells and some Oyster & Craw Fish in them, but it is remarkable we never saw any Fish Bones. The Muscles are easily got in great abundance, the few Oysters we got with the seine and dredge were very large and fine, but the superior Shellfish is the Ear (*Haliotis*), called so from the Shell taking that form, it adheres to the rocks like a Limpet,—when properly stewed it is delicious eating. In the Bay of Frederick Henry is a large Oyster Bank which our officers met with in an excursion to that place.

It appears to me from an interview some of our young Gentlemen had with the natives that they avoid being wet with the Sea with every degree of caution. Our Party saw them gathering Muscles, when it was remarkable to see the Men fly away from every surge of the water which

they thought would not have reached their knees. I have remarked in my former Voyage that the Natives retire in the boisterous time of the year to places not exposed to the Sea Winds. Frederick Henry Bay is a most elligible situation for them in the Northern parts of it; from the smokes we observed the Inhabitants are more numerous than is generally supposed; they have there a range of high continental land, sheltered by large Islands from the Sea, where both Water and Food are probably more plentiful than we have yet found it to be. They are not confined to Shell Fish. I have seen several Wood Spits with which they support larger masses of Food against the Fire than either Fish or Birds. The Kangaroos are numerous, the marks of them are met with all over the low Grounds. As I am convinced that the neighbouring Isles are inhabited, I see no reason to doubt of their having canoes however ill constructed they may be—mere Logs however may be said to be sufficient to transport them such short distances.

It has been remarked from several Baskets being found containing Flints that they got fire by collision, but I have not heard of any fungus discovered, or any substitute that will contain Sparks made by collision. I have found rolls of peculiar bark that I conceived would effect this purpose, but with the fairest trials I could not accomplish it—altho a small particle of collected fire put among it will soon generate such a Body as to secure the end in the wetest Weather. It appears that they have some trouble in making fire, for besides this dry Bark they use shavings of some dry Wood, which has the likeness of being taken off by a Plane Iron of an eight of an Inch wide,—several handfulls of these shavings lay about most of the Wigwams I saw. I apprehend they are formed by the Sharp end of the Muscle Shell. Lieut. Bond and others of our Gentlemen walked along the West Shore as far as the South part of Frederick Henry Bay. From the view he had of it he gave the following account :—The Bay of Frederick Henry is separated on the south and east from Adventure Bay by a low narrow neck of land which in some parts is only 250 or 300 yards across. To the N E it forms a high Peninsular extending to the entrance of these two Bays. To the North and West is the Main Land. The greatest extent is about Eight Miles from North to South, and about half the distance across. It has a small Island in the Middle, and is perfectly land-locked. The Harbour is fine and capacious, perfectly free of Surf, while on the East side of the Isthmus the sea broke with great fury.

Bligh's chart of his " Survey " is partly based on a plan made by F. G. Bond, First Lieutenant of the *Providence.* Bond called this " A Sketch of the Bays of Adventure and Frederick Henry drawn by bearings taken at the anchorage &c." Its chief interest is the position of the " Supposed Passage " into the latter bay. He says of this in his log : " The entrance is not positively known, but supposed to be where represented in the chart." An entry in his log on the 22nd, when the ships after leaving their anchorage ran north for three leagues (to the present Trumpeter Bay), is as follows :

"Looked into a large bay formed by the Maria Islands and the Main and from which no outlet was positively seen to the North yet strongly believed. In this bay we expected to discover the entrance of what is called Frederick Henry Bay—which I have described in the preceding observations—its situation remains yet undetermined, tho' concluded to be about 7 miles to the north of Fred^{k}. Henry P^{t}."

Bligh was precluded by his instructions from spending much time on explorations, but a slight advance northwards would have had its rewards, anticipating some of those soon after gathered by the French. For it must have located the entrance to what was thought to be Frederick Henry Bay, disclosing the opening to that noble sheet of water, the estuary of the Derwent, while the "islands" roughly indicated in his chart would have resolved themselves into South Arm and the adjoining part of the mainland.

In his log George Tobin, Third Lieutenant of the *Providence*, makes some remarks about the natives which have a utility of their own, containing as they do details and impressions not elsewhere recorded:

"At this place we found a wigwam (or hut) which from its appearance could not have been constructed long. It was eight feet wide, about five feet from the entrance to the back part, and four feet high. The Entrance extended almost its whole breadth. As well as many others we saw, it was formed of small branches, the larger end fixed in the ground and crossing each other where they were fastened with a kind of tough grass, over these rafters pieces of bark were laid in the same manner as tiles and shingles. Inside the wigwam were great numbers of mussel, sea-snail and other shells, with the remains of a kind of Lobster or crayfish. In some other wigwams we found the bones of an animal most probably the Kangoroo, and two small pieces of white hard stone, very different from any about Adventure Bay, and soft bark wrapped up carefully in grass,—with this stone and bark the natives probably strike their fire, but with them we were not able to effect it. It has been advanced that the wretched inhabitants of this country take up their abode in the trunks of trees hollowed out with fire for the purpose, but I rather imagine no such custom existed among them. It is true we met with vast numbers of burnt hollow trees wherever we went in their tracks, as well as on the mountains, where I'm inclined to think they seldom or ever go. In some of our shooting parties, the fires we kindled against Trees exhibited the next day the same appearance as these supposed habitations, nor will anything allow me to suppose that the most wretched Indian would prefer a hole not capable of holding more than two persons, and those not with ease, to a comparatively comfortable habitation which can be erected in a few hours. Where the Rocks will not admit of a passage along shore the Indians at a little distance in the woods have beaten a tolerable foot path all round the Bay; but I never met a path that led into the woods above an hundred yards, an indubitable proof, that

is in this part of the country, they only inhabit the Sea shores, and as another proof, we never met with a wigwam but near the sea. Tho' we frequently saw fires not far distant to the Northward we got but a slight view of any of the natives. A Party of our Gentlemen met about twenty by surprise. They were coming *towards* the Shipping but probably had not seen them for the Hills. On being discovered they retreated with great trepedation to the woods, one only, a young man remain'd a few minutes behind and took some bread that was presented to him, but he soon disappeared. They left a few rude spears behind, and close where our partie discovered them was the *Skeleton* of a new wigwam with two kangoroo skins in it. Under the hopes of a visit from these people our gentlemen did not take away the skins and only a few of the weapons, but in this we were disappointed, as no more was seen of them during our stay. Our Partie reported the natives to be of the middle size and well form'd. Neither sex were quite naked; but their coverings which was the skin of some animal, were loosely thrown over the shoulders. The Men had all their beards growing, among the party was a child at its mother's breast. We were not able to determine the opening of the Bay to the northward of Adventure Bay (Frederick Henry) whether on the East or West side of the continent, but from the rise and fall of the Tide there is no doubt but that there is an outlet to the sea."

The ships arrived at Tahiti on the 9th of April 1792, and the collection of bread-fruit trees was begun without delay. In little more than three months the requisite supply was obtained; this was in marked contrast with the leisurely methods adopted when the *Bounty* visited the island, and over five months were spent in gathering a thousand plants. During the present visit double that number of young trees and some five hundred plants of other species were prepared for the long sea voyage and put on board. Doubtless the leader had been instructed, in view of his earlier experience, to expedite the business and not to allow his people a longer association with the free and easy islanders than was necessary. He started on the homeward journey on the 18th of July.

In 1789, when making his way towards Timor, after he was cast adrift by the *Bounty* mutineers, Bligh passed through the Fiji Group, and roughly noted the position of some of the islands. Tasman had discovered one of this group lying in the northern part of the area, and Cook had come across another lying to the southward. Bligh now followed his previous course, and under better conditions, though handicapped by lack of time, was rewarded by being able to disclose more correctly the importance of this large cluster of islands. A truly difficult piece of work now lay before the ships; this was the navigation of Torres Strait, and three weeks were spent in threading a way through its un-

charted waters. Even in recent years the wrecks may have been seen of vessels that had come to grief in that dangerous and intricate sea-way. When Cook in 1770 worked his way through the strait, giving it the name of his ship, the *Endeavour*, he kept a southern course near to the Australian mainland. Bligh followed a more northerly route, starting from a point on the New Guinea side. He was skilfully assisted in this fine piece of navigation by Lieutenant Portlock, whose little vessel, well handled and more suitable than the *Providence* for risky manœuvres amidst a labyrinth of shoals and reefs, often reconnoitred a way for her larger consort. At Coupang, in Timor, where the ships arrived early in October, news was received from the Dutch Governor of the loss of the *Pandora*. A number of the plants taken on board at Tahiti had been lost on the voyage, and the botanists therefore collected some of the local fruit trees to replace them.

The first port of call after the ships left Coupang was St. Helena, where a few plants were sent ashore. More were landed at St. Vincent and at Jamaica, and a number of plants from the West Indies and a few from the East Indies were taken on to England for Kew Gardens. The ships arrived in the Thames early in August 1793, having carried out with complete success the mission on which they had been sent forth and from which such important results were expected.

When Bligh returned home after his first voyage to Tahiti he published a work based on the log of the *Bounty*. In this he told the story of that voyage, with his own version of the mutiny, and an account of the boat journey. He received in full measure public and official acknowledgment that he had borne himself well under peculiarly trying and distressing circumstances. Now, after the second voyage, he encountered a complete change in the atmosphere, and was exasperated to find himself called upon for a defence of his character as a shipmaster. The court martial of the mutineers brought back by Captain Edwards of the *Pandora* had taken place in the interval, with the result that his conduct of the first voyage was sharply called in question by public opinion. Nevertheless he did not go unrewarded, for the Society of Arts in 1794 bestowed on him its Gold Medal in recognition of his discoveries, and in 1801, in consideration of his services in navigation and botany, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Bligh did not publish an account of his second expedition, and information concerning it must be sought in his log book and in those of the officers who accompanied him.

In one sense the trouble and expense involved in the transport of bread-fruit trees to the West Indies created disappoint-

ment, for the fruit was not appreciated there, and little benefit was derived from its importation. For Australia, on the other hand, the voyage had its particular use, in that it provided a school for training for one who eventually became the foremost navigator and geographical surveyor of Australian and Tasmanian coast lines. Matthew Flinders was a midshipman on board the *Providence*, and made his first voyage in her after his entry into the Navy. His association with Bligh on this expedition formed the third link of a remarkable chain of events in early Tasmanian history. Serving under Cook as master of the *Resolution* Bligh had acquired a complete knowledge of the great navigator's methods, and it is easy to trace in his logs how greatly he was influenced by them. For instruction in navigation and in the means whereby Cook kept his people healthy Flinders was well placed when serving an apprenticeship under Bligh. Ten years later, when in command of an Admiralty Surveying Ship, Flinders had as a midshipman and ardent disciple a young relative of his own, John Franklin, whose association with the island in after years formed the fourth link of the chain.

The log kept by Flinders on the *Providence* covers only part of the voyage. Unfortunately it began on the 24th of February 1792, the day the two ships sailed away from Adventure Bay, but the six charts showing the course of the ships from Europe to Tasmania, the numerous pencil sketches throughout the work, and the neat records, give indications of the special aptitude shown by this youth of eighteen for the strenuous career that lay before him.

CHAPTER X

VOYAGE OF REAR-ADMIRAL D'ENTRECASTEAUX, 1791–1793

THE French nation, in spite of the mighty political movements that had begun to shake their country to its foundations, was profoundly moved when, in 1789, the period arrived for the expected return of La Pérouse to France, and not a word concerning the later operations of his expedition was forthcoming. In his last letter from Botany Bay La Pérouse had written that he wished to reach the Isle of France in December 1788. As time passed it became only too evident that some disaster had befallen the ships, and anxiety regarding their fate spread in ever-widening circles even beyond the shores of France, and especially amongst those of " the brotherhood of the sea ", who knew so well the risks that were the portion of explorers in eastern seas. Thus it was that in every port, when sailor-men forgathered, the tale was told and the possibility that some of the company might have survived the disaster which had so certainly overwhelmed the ships was discussed.

Early in 1791 the French National Assembly petitioned King Louis XVI to ask his representatives abroad to seek for the assistance of foreign Powers, in the name of humanity, of arts and sciences, to engage their people, such as mariners and local agents, in a search for the two ships or any survivors of them, or even any information concerning them. The Assembly also undertook to pay for the cost of such services as might be rendered and to reward them. At the same time it prayed the King to fit out ships for a double purpose, to conduct a close search for La Pérouse and to carry out work advantageous for navigation, geography, arts and sciences.

The leader of such a campaign as was proposed needed to be a specially capable, bold and experienced navigator, and such a suitably qualified officer, it was thought, was found in Bruny D'Entrecasteaux, of the French Navy, who had already distinguished himself in the service of his country. Two frigates, the *Recherche* and the *Espérance*, each of about 500 tons, were

placed under his orders, and he received the rank of Rear-Admiral. D'Entrecasteaux commanded the *Recherche*, and Huon de Kermadec was appointed captain of the other ship. As was usual, the vessels received names appropriate to the objects of the voyage. Full instructions, drawn up with all the care and attention to detail that marked the preliminary preparations made by the French in such matters, were delivered to the leader, and to ensure success in the second object of the voyage, advancement in useful knowledge, a party of astronomers, naturalists, hydrographers and draughtsmen, with an expert gardener, twelve in all, was distributed between the two ships.

When the expedition left France in September 1791, full of high hopes and reasonable expectations of a successful voyage, there was nothing to indicate under what conditions its shattered remains would return to Europe. For the story of the expedition we have to rely on two works, different in character, each valuable and each supplying information the other fails to give. The first of these, which might be called the official record, was edited by Paul de Rossel (12), who was a lieutenant on the *Recherche* during the greater part of the voyage. It is based on the personal journal of D'Entrecasteaux, and is the straightforward but somewhat monotonous narrative of the principal events as they occurred, such indeed as might be expected from a skilled and thoughtful navigator who was thoroughly alive to the importance of his mission and determined to leave nothing undone, to the best of his ability, to carry it through to a successful issue. The second work, written by Jacques de Labillardière (sometimes referred to as La Billardière) (13), the principal naturalist of the expedition, gives a graphic description of the cruise as it presented itself to a scientist and a landsman, one who had distinct views of his own as to the manner in which it should have been conducted, and little inclination to conceal them. But these personal opinions on matters outside his domain, though they are occasionally bitter enough and generally entertaining, do not spoil the important part of the picture represented, that of a keen naturalist and his delight in visiting new countries, as yet little known to the scientific world and offering him a succession of opportunities to make new discoveries, chiefly in his own field of study, that of botany.

When the ships arrived at Cape Town, where they stayed for a month (17th January to 16th February 1792), D'Entrecasteaux received some information from the Commandant of the French Naval Station at the Isle of France which caused him to alter the

(12) Note.
(13) Note.

route he had intended to follow. The captains of two French vessels on their arrival at Port Louis had reported to the Commandant that when they were at Batavia, Captain Hunter, who, after the wreck of the *Sirius* at Norfolk Island, called at that port on his way back to Europe, had stated that when passing the Admiralty Islands he had seen natives wearing uniforms and sword-belts similar to those used by Europeans, evidences that La Pérouse had been wrecked on these islands. Unfortunately for D'Entrecasteaux, Hunter had sailed for England from Table Bay as the French ships were entering the harbour. To add to the doubts he himself felt concerning these rumours the Admiral learnt from officials at Cape Town that when Hunter had heard the story that had been spread abroad by the French captains he declared it to be untrue. Faced with this difficulty D'Entrecasteaux decided that nothing should be left to chance, and that it was his plain duty to proceed without delay to the Admiralty Islands and make an investigation. Later, owing to the bad sailing qualities of the ships and the season of the year, it became evident that the best and surest route, though " the longest way round ", was that to the south of Australia, in high latitudes. Adventure Bay, with a call at Amsterdam Island on the way, to determine its position, became the first objective. Labillardière was very indignant that Hunter should have sailed from Cape Town as the French ships were arriving, well knowing what their mission was, and that he should have left no information for them relating to his experience at the Admiralty Islands. He was amazed, too, that the English sailor should have denied any knowledge of the facts gleaned by the French sea-captains and brought to the Cape during the time he was there. Bligh, who had recently called there on his way to Tahiti, had been told nothing by Hunter! However, Bligh had assured a local official that he would endeavour to help in the search for any remains of the unfortunate expedition (14). The French naturalists did not fail, while the ships were lying in Table Bay, to avail themselves of the opportunities offered, and they made excursions in the neighbourhood to collect specimens of natural history to be forwarded to France. Unfortunately the party of scientists had to be reduced, for three of their number, an astronomer, a naturalist, and a draughtsman, were compelled owing to ill-health to resign their positions. D'Entrecasteaux appointed Rossel, who had served under him for several years in the East, to take charge of the astronomical work on board the *Recherche*.

Anxious to be the first to make investigations at the Admiralty Islands, D'Entrecasteaux nevertheless calculated that he would

(14) Note.

be anticipated by Bligh, should the latter, on leaving the Cape in the preceding December, have thought it his duty to go without delay to the possible succour of a shipwrecked navigator and his companions, and taken the direct route thither. If, on the other hand, thought the French Admiral, Bligh put off any research till his return journey from Tahiti, he himself would easily be earliest in the field. We may smile at the suggestion that a British naval officer, entrusted with an important mission and relying on vague rumours, might have felt impelled to sail many hundreds of miles out of his settled course into dangerous seas, on the remote chance of finding some shipwrecked remains, but D'Entrecasteaux's extravagant fancy does credit to the benevolence of his heart and the depth of his zeal for the work in hand.

According to plan the ships visited the Island of Amsterdam, and its position was fixed by observers, though no landing was made. By a strange coincidence the French found part of the island in flames, and were moved to wonder as to the cause, though they could not believe the conflagration was the result of volcanic action. Labillardière was informed at Port Louis, when he was returning to Europe, that an American vessel had left men at the two islands to collect seal-oil, but he says that when the French ships visited Amsterdam there were no signs of inhabitants. It seems probable, however, that the spoliation of these two sister islands, Amsterdam to the north, and St. Paul to the south, had already begun, and that the fire had been started by some ruthless raiders of their sea beaches.

At this comparatively early epoch of the voyage, only six months after the ships had left France, it became evident that there had been a lamentable lack of proper supervision when they were being provisioned for their lengthy cruise.

"Hitherto we had flattered ourselves", wrote Labillardière, "that we had not been defrauded, at least with respect to the quality of out sea-biscuit. But we discovered too late, that a part of it had already made a voyage before, for at the end of five months after leaving Brest it swarmed with prodigious numbers of larvae that changed into a species of fly. From the biscuits these soon spread themselves through all the rest of our provisions, and it was a considerable time before we could overcome the disgust which they created in us."

An earlier reference to the bad quality of stores was made by the naturalist when the ships were at Table Bay:

"We replaced at the Cape the provisions we had used before arriving there. It would have been well if such of our European stock as was bad in quality had been changed for better. The contractors had deceived us in the quality of the wine. We had paid them double

the ordinary price, that we might have it of the best and such as would keep for a long time. Part of it, however, was already spoiled before we reached the Cape. It was of the greatest importance to have it changed because it was impossible to procure it elsewhere. Why this was neglected I cannot comprehend. Our wine grew worse and worse till we were obliged to substitute brandy. This deprived us of one of the best means of preserving the health of the crew."

These observations are important, for they indicate only too clearly grave negligence on the part of those responsible for the commissariat department. There was a reasonable expectation that fresh food would be obtained here and there during the voyage, but its successful termination depended, with regard to food supplies, upon the reserve stocks carried in the ships, and these should have consisted only of the finest kinds obtainable.

When the coast of Tasmania was sighted on the 21st of April 1792, D'Entrecasteaux was ill, and the reports of the officers navigating the *Recherche* were made to him in his cabin. It was his intention to anchor in Adventure Bay, and when informed that the Eddystone Rock was lying to the south-west he knew that the ships should steer northwards for the bay, and gave his orders accordingly. The responsible officer, however, had made an error in his report, and it was towards the South-West Passage, the entrance to the channel now called D'Entrecasteaux Channel, that the ships were headed, and in which they presently anchored in a sheltered position. It was a fortunate mistake on the part of Lieutenant Willaumez, for it led to the immediate investigation of the channel, but there is no doubt that had the ships passed into Adventure Bay the survey would merely have taken another form, the ships would probably have entered the estuary of the Derwent, and other discoveries would have followed.

A boat was now sent from each ship to look for a safe harbour, and they continued their search next morning. The report of one of these, which entered Recherche Bay, was so favourable that the two vessels tacked towards its entrance, and finally, with the aid of towing by boats, came to anchor on the 23rd in North Bay, one of the inlets of Recherche Bay. All hands were pleased with the situation. After the tiresome journey from the Cape the ships were lying in a land-locked port, wood and water were obtainable in abundance, the climate was good, while the certain and magic prospect of discovery filled their thoughts with its possibilities. The French Admiral was greatly impressed with the appearance of Recherche Bay, the beauty of its surroundings, with the ground sloping upwards from the water's edge, the density of its forests, and the height and size of the trees. The sheltered and secure position of this new anchorage appealed to

his instincts as a sailor, and he contrasted its convenience and freedom from danger, its tranquillity, with the name of the great bay near which it lay hidden, that is to say, Storm Bay. For the French navigator assumed that he had entered the inlet so named by Tasman. Sixteen years later, when the charts of the expedition were published, truth had prevailed, and that much discussed name was inserted in its correct position (Plate 7).

The mariners who had visited Tasmania before D'Entrecasteaux entered its southernmost harbour had not been able to devote much attention to fresh investigations on the island. Having more important work in view their efforts had to be confined to such rapid sketching as their passages along the coasts and their short stoppages for supplies of wood and water might permit. Even Cook had not yielded to any temptation he may have felt to linger a little and explore. It is true that to Furneaux was given a great opportunity, but in his case inspiration was lacking, and his campaign before he hurried off to New Zealand, may be summed up with the sad words, " It might have been ". Bligh, who sailed out of Adventure Bay eight weeks before D'Entrecasteaux anchored in Recherche Bay, wished to break new ground, and might have done so had he been favoured with better weather. Yet he, too, was restrained by the influence of his mission, and by instructions which forbade the pursuit of inquiries outside the main object of his voyage and his work in Torres Strait. With D'Entrecasteaux the case was different. He was engaged on a double quest, and he conceived that he was entitled to spend some of the time at his disposal in making a thorough investigation of the inlet of the sea that the ships had entered on the 21st of the month. He adopted the plan of sending the ships' boats away on short surveying expeditions, during which they charted the coast lines, this work being checked and controlled by astronomical observations for latitudes and longitudes to fix the principal features met with. Soundings were taken wherever the boats went. It was an excellent method, this first systematic survey carried out in Tasmania, and resulted in the end in a good working plan of the channel. The first part of this programme was a survey of Recherche Bay itself, then followed a four-days' boat journey (30th April to 4th May). This took in Cloudy Bay (called by the French " Bad Bay ", from its unfavourable character), and then the boat proceeded up the channel past Partridge Island, where a landing was made, to a point near Green Island. Here they turned and made their way back to the ship, passing near Arch and Huon Islands, and paying a visit to Southport.

The report of this excursion tended to confirm an opinion

that had been growing in D'Entrecasteaux's mind, namely, that he was dealing with a strait or channel, and that the Frederick Hendrick Bay of earlier voyagers formed part of it, though he shrewdly suspected that Tasman's bay of that name was where Marion had supposed it to be. He determined to take the ships northwards so that boat journeys might more easily be carried out. The Admiral had regarded Recherche Bay as a perfectly sheltered port, but during the night preceding the day he proposed to sail up the channel, the 14th May, some heavy squalls caused both vessels to drag their anchors and run aground. On the 16th, having been floated again, the frigates were worked out of the bay, and on the evening of the 17th anchored in the channel a little north of Partridge Island.

The French officers were powerfully attracted by the sight that met their gaze on the morning of the 18th.

> "Each ray of light", exclaimed their leader, "displayed fresh beauties; on all sides bays of great depth were to be seen, all equally sheltered from the winds. The high lands covered with trees surrounding these bays promised good depth of water and freedom from dangers. None of our navigators had ever seen in their voyages so vast and safe an anchorage; all the fleets in the world might be assembled there, and still leave room to spare."

On that day four boats were sent off to make explorations, the most important venture being that ordered to the north, to settle if possible the weighty question whether there was a channel leading into the sea.

Of the two boats that worked the western shore one made an examination of Port Esperance, and the other carried out a partial exploration of the Huon River. The Admiral's thoughts, however, were concentrated on the fortunes of the party that had gone north. Lieutenant Saint-Aignan was in charge of the boat, and he was accompanied by Beautemps-Beaupré, whose work as a producer of sea-charts constitutes one of the outstanding features of the voyage of the two ships. He had taken part in the earlier long boat journey, and the frequent references made by the commander to his hydrographic output are evidences of his high standing in the expedition. The boat on this occasion was supplied with provisions for four days, but it did not get back to the *Recherche* till the afternoon of the fifth day, having been delayed by southerly winds when returning, and compelled to seek shelter under Satellite Island. It was a joyful party that was welcomed back on the ship. If some hardships had been met with these were compensated by the success of the undertaking. An opening had been found and the exis-

tence of a navigable channel separating Bruny Island from the mainland had been proved. Naturally the channel was named after the Admiral and one of his Christian names given to the long island helping to form it. On the way back to the frigate Saint-Aignan could not resist a desire to enter Isthmus Bay, and endeavour to discover the sea on its outer side (Plate 7). The head of this bay being very shallow the boat grounded, and stripping off his clothes he waded ashore, carrying a gun and a compass, and crossed the narrow neck of land separating the channel from Storm Bay. He found himself facing Adventure Bay, and after taking some bearings to the principal features of the land in sight, he returned to the boat, finding the shrubs on the isthmus rather prickly. The exposure of his body to wintry air, and stabs of thorny bushes, were merely part of the game for the young Frenchman. But the map of Bruny Island had been helped in its progress towards completion by this quaint little piece of survey work.

When the boat party had discovered the mouth of the channel they landed and camped the first night in a small sandy bay near the northern point of Bruny Island. Saint-Aignan, in his written report to the Admiral, mentioned that they came across some " canoes " of a kind in this bay, and some native huts, similar to those seen in Recherche Bay, which had evidently been used recently. Earlier voyagers had noted the absence of canoes, none had seen one.

" On the beach of our little bay ", wrote Saint-Aignan, " we found some canoes of sorts, from seven to nine feet long, equally straight above and below. They were three or four feet across in the middle, and tapered to a point at the ends. They were made of very thick (pieces of) bark, brought together lengthwise, and tied up with rushes or some other woody grasses. They are in fact merely floats, to which the natives have given the shape of canoes."

D'Entrecasteaux's one comment on these " canoes ", some of which were seen later on the other side of the channel, was that they showed that the natives were as little advanced in that kind of industry as in all others. It is noteworthy that these floats were found at a point where the channel between the mainland and the island is narrow. Perhaps it was at this point that any communication between the two was conducted, the floats being used to transport fire, the all-important " household god " that had to be carried from place to place when any change of quarters took place. Not being deep-sea fishermen the natives only required such means of transport as ferries at important crossing-places.

Now that the existence of the strait had been established D'Entrecasteaux was half inclined to sail southwards out of the channel and resume the voyage. However, the officers of the two vessels were so eager to pass through it that the commander gave way in spite of the delay that would ensue. He was not without hope that this course might be justified by some new discovery in the territory beyond the waterway, and, in any case, it would enable a more thorough survey to be made of the northern part of the channel. When the ships had at length worked their way through and sailed out of the strait, which occurred on the 28th May, northerly winds were blowing with such violence that the Admiral, to his regret, was compelled to give up all idea of further investigations, and he therefore resumed his voyage to the Pacific islands. Still, he was able to review with justifiable satisfaction what had been accomplished, and it may be that he then made up his mind to revisit the country should the opportunity occur.

For the naturalists attached to the expedition the visit of the two ships to the channel opened out a wide expanse for research and exploitation. Especially was this the case during the twenty-two days spent at the anchorage in Recherche Bay, and full advantage was taken of what was offered to their observation. It was a new territory, as yet untouched by the incursions of Europeans. Certainly Adventure Bay lay not far away, and Anderson, Cook's surgeon, on the *Resolution*, had made some investigations there, but the time at his disposal had been restricted, and he had only been able to touch the fringe of this fresh field for scientific activity.

The French expedition was fortunate in possessing in Labillardière one who was more than an enthusiastic botanist absorbed in his own subject, for he had travelled much and was a keen observer of everything around him that attracted his interest. He took pleasure in recording his views on passing events, and these give a pleasing and acceptable variety to the more serious descriptions of his botanical "finds". All living things, trees, animals, birds, fishes and insects, had for him their scientific values, and important collections were obtained during excursions made in the forests, and, indeed, whenever it was possible to get ashore. The preparation of these for transport to Europe, and technical descriptions of the specimens gathered in, left him little leisure, for already he had the intention of producing a work of the flora of Australia in addition to an account of the voyage. The brief abstracts that follow have been drawn from Labillardière's narrative of events, which is naturally too lengthy to be so used in full, and contains, besides technical notes on

GENERAL CHART

OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF NEW HOLLAND
called
ANTHONY VAN DIEMEN LAND
Including the Discoveries made in that part
BY REAR-ADMIRAL BRUNY-DENTRECASTEAUX
Prepared and Drawn up
By C.F. Beautemps-Beaupré, *Hydrographer*
in 1792 and 1793

144° 145° 146°
43°

Partie de Côte tracée d'après H. Cox
Oyster Bay
ÎLE MARIA (de Tasman)
Baie de Marion
C. Frederik Hendrikx
Route des Frégates en Fev. 1793
Baie du Nord
le Plateau
Riv. du Nord
la Double Baie
Presqu'île du Nord
I.S.t Aignan
Port du Nord-Ouest
I. Willaumez
ÎLE D'ABEL TASMAN
Pte Gicquel
le Grand Lagon
Presqu'île de Freycinet
Cap Tribulation
Cap Trobriand
C. Raoul
C. Pillar (de Cox)
Petite I. de Tasman
Port de l'Espérance
I. aux Oiseaux
I. aux Perdrix
la Petite Anse
la Grande Anse
Baie Mauvaise
Fluted Cape
(Cap Cannelé)
STORM BAAY (de Tasman)
(Baie des Tempêtes)
Cap Bruny
I.s Steriles
I.s Boreel (de Tasman)
Friars (de Furneaux)
Port H. Cox mouilla en 1798
Cap Sud-Ouest
Iles Maetsuiker (de Tasman)
I. du Golfe
C. Sud
Route des Frégates en Janv. 1793
Mewstone (de Furneaux)
Swilly (de Furneaux) Eddystone (de Cook)
Pedra Branca (de Tasman)

Longitude Orientale de l'Observatoire Imperiale de Paris

Labillardière's narrative of events, which is naturally too lengthy to be so used in full, and contains, besides technical notes on

botanical discoveries, statements and comments on nautical affairs that hardly fell within his sphere of action.

"In the afternoon (of 23rd April) I went ashore, accompanied by the gardener and two others, in order to make an excursion into the country towards N.E. We were filled with admiration at the sight of these ancient forests in which the sound of the axe had never yet been heard. The eye was astonished in contemplating the tremendous size of the trees, amongst which there were some myrtles more than 150 feet in height. The most luxuriant vegetation is here contrasted with its final dissolution, and presents to the mind a striking picture of the operations of nature, who, left to herself, only destroys in order that she may recreate. We found some rudiments of huts in these woods, consisting of a framework made of branches of trees, and designed to be afterwards over-laid with the bark which the natives used to cover the outside of their cabins. After having directed our route for some time to the north-eastward, we arrived before night at the coast directly opposite to our vessels. We expected to be taken on board immediately, as we had been promised that a boat should be sent to fetch us, as soon as we wanted one. This might have been done in five minutes, but we were obliged to wait two hours on the shore. It would have been a very proper regulation if a boat had been kept expressly for the use of the naturalists. It was ten o'clock next morning before I could finish my description and preparation of the specimens I had collected the preceding day. The finest trees in this country are the different species of eucalyptus. I measured some that were twenty-seven feet in circumference."

"Most of the large trees near the edges of the sea have been hollowed near their roots by means of fire. The openings generally facing the north-east, serve as places of shelter against the south-west winds, which appear to be the most predominant and violent in these parts. It cannot be doubted but that they are the work of men, for had they been produced by any accidental cause, such as the under-wood taking fire, the flames must have encompassed the whole circumference of the tree. They seem to be places of shelter for the natives whilst they eat their meals. We found the remains of the shell-fish on which they feed, and in some of them the cinders of the fires at which they had dressed their victuals. The savages are not very safe in these hollow trees, for the trunk being weakened by the excavation may easily be thrown down by a violent gust of wind. Anderson speaks of hearths of clay made by the natives in these trees. Whenever I have found any clay in them it did not appear to me to have been placed there by the hand of man, but one frequently meets with it piled up between the roots from natural causes. At any rate the natives of this country, as we shall see hereafter, do not make their fires upon hearths, but kindle them on the bare ground, and prepare their foods over the coals. We found on the edge of the forest a break-wind constructed by the natives against the sea gales. It consisted of strips of eucalyptus bark, interwoven between stakes fixed perpendicularly into the ground, forming a curve of about a third of the

circumference of a circle, ten feet in length and three in height, with its convex side turned towards the bay. A small circular elevation covered with cinders and heaped round with shells, marked the place where the natives dressed their victuals. Such a fence must be of great service to them to prevent their fires being extinguished, when the wind blows violently from the sea. We found another of these fences, it was of the same construction and height, but twice as long. We saw there some remains of drinking vessels; they were made of the sea-weed called *fucus palmatus*, (15) and having been torn were of no further use. On our return through the woods we saw some unfinished huts of the natives. They consisted of branches fixed by both ends into the ground, and supported one upon the other, so as to form a frame-work of hemispherical form about five feet in height. The branches were fastened together with the leaves of a species of grass, and the buildings seemed to require nothing more for completion than to receive their coverings of bark, which renders them impervious to rain."

"I remained the whole day on board (26th April), employed with preparing and describing the numerous curiosities of natural history collected on preceding days. Fishing nets were regularly sent out every evening, and abundance of fish was taken. The meals we now had on board contrasted very strikingly with those we had been obliged to put up with during our passage. I must here remark that those of our company who were engaged in the pursuit of natural history were not permitted to take with them, on their excursions, the smallest quantity of that allowance of fresh provisions which we claimed as our right; ship's biscuit, cheese, brandy and sometimes a little salted bacon, was all that was provided for us. The reasons we gave were sufficient to prove the justice of our demands; nevertheless we had no other provisions allowed us on these occasions during the whole course of our expedition. I should have passed over this circumstance in silence had I not thought it might afford a woeful hint to persons employed in the same pursuit who may hereafter be engaged in such expeditions."

"Riche found some human bones amongst the ashes of a fire made by the natives. Several bones he discovered by their form to have been part of the skeleton of a young girl; some of them were still covered with pieces of burnt flesh. I would not charge these people with being cannibals. I rather suppose that they have the custom of burning the bodies of their dead, as these were the only human bones that were seen during the whole of our stay at this place. I visited in company with the gardener the spot where he has sown different kinds of European seeds. It was a plot of ground twenty-eight feet by twenty-three divided into four beds. The soil was rather too full of clay to ensure the success of the seed. During our stay at this place the weather was very unfavourable for making astronomical observations. The season of the year was little suited for an investigation of these coasts and this was rendered still more difficult by the violence of the winds."

(15) Note

"It was night when on the 17th May (after leaving Recherche Bay) we entered the strait to which we gave the name of our Commander. A small island south-west of our anchoring station, had been named Partridge Island by some of our crew who discovered it. Riche and myself spent the day upon the island, but instead of partridges we found a great number of quails there. Whether those who had first visited it had made an error, or whether the partridges had since left the island, I must leave undecided. Two of the officers of our vessel, Cretin and D'Auribeau, went in the morning to survey the coast to the eastward of our Station (Bruny Island). Seeing several fires they determined to land, finding four savages employed in laying fuel upon the three small fires round which they were sitting. The savages immediately fled, leaving their crabs and shell-fish broiling upon the coals. Near this place they saw other fires and huts. One of the savages, who was very tall and muscular, having left behind him a small basket filled with pieces of flint, was bold enough to come quite near to Cretin in order to fetch it, with a look of assurance with which his bodily strength seemed to inspire him. Some of the natives were stark naked, the rest had the skin of a kangaroo wrapped about their shoulders. They were of a blackish colour, with long beards and curled hair. The utensils which they left behind them consisted of about thirty baskets made of rushes, some of which were filled with shell-fish and crabs, other with pieces of flint and fragments of the bark of a tree as soft as the best tinder. These savages undoubtedly procure themselves fire by striking two pieces of flint together, in which they differ from the other inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and even from those of the more easterly part of New Holland, whence there is ground for belief that they are descended from a different origin. They likewise left behind them several kangaroo skins and drinking vessels. The officers forbade the sailors to take away any of the utensils of the savages; however, they selected two baskets, a kangaroo skin and a drinking vessel of seaweed to carry to the Commander. The savages had no reason to regret the loss of these, as our people left in place of them several knives and handkerchiefs, with some biscuit, cheese and an earthen pot. A party that went ashore on the following day met with several of the same natives, but these did not suffer them to get near. They found some shell-fish broiling upon the fires, and at a little distance more than thirty kangaroo skins, showing them to be very expert in hunting. They had made use of the biscuit which had been left for them; but the smell of the cheese had probably prevented them from tasting it, as it was found in the same condition in which it had been deposited."

"On the 27th we weighed but cast anchor again soon afterwards. At a distance of three miles to the north-east the farthest end of the strait, through which we were to pass, was visible. Two boats were sent to carry some of our men to both shores of the strait. They discovered a number of the savages landing from a catamaran on the east shore. As timid as those we had seen before they had hastened with all possible speed to the land, where they made their escape

into the woods, leaving behind them several darts of a very clumsy construction. I went on shore at the place where the savages had disappeared and found a great number of pebbles of very beautiful hard granite, rounded by the water. We found four catamarans made of the bark of trees, on the beach. These rafts are only fit for crossing the water when the sea is very tranquil, otherwise they would soon be broken asunder by the force of the waves. As the savages possess the art of hollowing the trunks of trees by means of fire, they might employ the same method to make themselves canoes, but they have made as little progress in navigation as in other arts. On the tops of the hills I met with the plant described by Phillip, in his account of his voyage to Botany Bay, under the name of the yellow gum-tree. To me it appears to belong to the genus dracaena. The gum-resin which flows from this plant is very astringent, and might no doubt be used with advantage in medicine. One of the officers of the *Recherche*, following a beaten path made by the savages through the woods, met six of them walking slowly towards the south, all stark-naked and armed with spears sixteen to eighteen feet long. Their surprise at so unexpected a meeting was visible in their faces, but their number inspiring them with courage, they approached at the invitation of the European, and bound round their heads a neck-cloth and a handkerchief which he offered them. They appeared terrified at the sight of his short sword, which he showed them how to use, nor were their fears quieted till he made them a present of it. He endeavoured in vain to persuade them to come to where our anchorage was ; the savages walked away following the same path in a direction opposite to that which led to the ships. Some of our men having landed on the other side of the strait, came to a large fire round which eight savages, each of whom had a kangaroo skin wrapped round his shoulders, sat warming themselves under the shelter of four wind-screens. They immediately ran away as soon as they saw our people. An old woman who had the care of their provisions, which she did not wish to leave behind her, was soon overtaken by some of the sailors. With an air of satisfaction she accepted a necker-chief that was given her, but the sight of a knife which they wanted to present to her, frightened her so much that she leapt down a pre-cipice more than forty five feet in height, and ran away among the rocks, where they soon lost sight of her (16). She left behind her two baskets in which were found a lobster, some mussels and a few roots of a fern, which I recognised as belonging to a new species of pteris, of which I had before collected a considerable quantity. It appears that the savages chew these roots in order to express the nutritious juice which always abound more or less in plants of this family (17). This woman, like the other savages, had the skin of a kangaroo on her shoulders, she had likewise another of these skins bound round her waist in the form of an apron. I suppose that she had provided her-self with this piece of clothing on account of the inclemency of the season ; the savage women who were seen at Adventure Bay by

(16) Note. (17) Note.

Captain Cook, not very far from this place, were naked, and it is not probable that at such a short distance away one would find much difference in their customs."

"On the 28th we reached the extremity of the strait. The two forelands are at a distance of three miles from one another. We ranged very near to that on our starboard, where we found the depth to be no more than 3½ to 4 fathoms. Such a great diminution of water at the end of the strait led us to conjecture that the bottom consisted of a hard rock that resisted the daily action of the tides and the soundings showed us the truth of this. We left the strait about noon, when we discovered an opening from E.S.E. to S. about 18 miles in breadth giving a passage into the open sea. Northward we observed a vast bay, or rather a gulf, broken up by islands. Several bights in the land inclosing the gulf seemed likely to afford good anchorage."

When La Pérouse sailed from Botany Bay in 1788 he laid down the route he intended to follow, and that route did not mention the Admiralty Islands, but it did include the south coast of New Caledonia. Directed to the Admiralty Islands by the improbable story that had been told him at the Cape, D'Entrecasteaux determined, when he left Tasmania, to sail thither by way of New Caledonia. On arrival at that island he skirted its western coast, trying in vain to find an entrance through the formidable and dangerous barrier reef that runs parallel with the shore from south to north, as if designed by nature to protect the land from all intercourse by sailing ships with the outer seas. Here the Admiral was breaking new ground, hitherto uncharted by previous navigators, and he took considerable risks to make his examination complete. He was unwilling, even under the unfavourable weather conditions met with, to run any chance of missing some opening in the reef that might have been seen and used by La Pérouse, should he have passed that way. The probability of finding any traces whatever of the earlier expedition was so small that regions where there was any hope of success needed to be examined with so much the greater care. To D'Entrecasteaux the contrasts between the two countries he had recently visited seemed truly remarkable :

"New Caledonia, situated in the Tropics, with a most beautiful climate, only exhibits a coast line bristling with rocks and unapproachable. Van Diemen's Land, placed in a high latitude, conceals most magnificent harbours and the safest of shelters. They form the two extremes of good and bad, as it were, from each point of view."

Perhaps with great knowledge of the climate of Tasmania, the Admiral might have called it, as Furneaux did, the best in the world.

Continuing to combine his two subjects, discovery and the great search, D'Entrecasteaux moved northwards. He coasted Hammond and Treasury Islands and then Bougainville and Buka, and passing into St. George Channel, between New Ireland and New Britain, anchored in Carteret Harbour. Here the ships spent six days, and the naturalists were able to find congenial employment once more. On approaching the Admiralty Islands, the Commander recognized that chance alone could help him to find, amidst the innumerable small islands forming the group, the particular one referred to in the story passed on by the two French Captains. He decided to visit first those to the east, lying near the course of the Dutch ship conveying Captain Hunter to Batavia, and then to run along the northern part of the archipelago. In carrying out this programme many natives were seen at close quarters, in their canoes and on the beaches, though no landing was made, owing to reefs. None were found wearing European clothes, but it was noted at one place that the girdles and ornaments worn by the inhabitants bore some resemblance, seen at a distance, to French uniforms. Nothing more could now be done in the way of search, and D'Entrecasteaux, passing to the north of New Guinea, steered to Amboyna to refit and obtain refreshment, arriving there on 6th September 1792. The Dutch authorities were not at first inclined to welcome him, even when he showed his copy of the Letter of Instructions from the Dutch States-General to their governors abroad to give the expedition a good reception. However, he was able to overcome the difficulty by proving how he had, in fact, outstripped the Dutch mail by several months, so that the original letter could not have arrived at Amboyna. At this port, where they stayed five weeks, the ships were refitted and necessary supplies of fresh food were obtained. The various kinds and the quality of the latter were criticized by Labillardière, who, being a bad sailor, was perhaps compelled to be careful about his diet. He held the view that he could have managed the provisions better than the naval officers, and perhaps if the commissariat department had been in his hands the health of the ships' companies would have been better. Already, before Amboyna was reached, some of the sailors had been attacked by scurvy, and it is evident that the extreme care and attention to detail so necessary in all matters of health, and which had been proved to be so successful on board British naval ships engaged on long voyages at that period, were lacking in the present case, although La Pérouse had given his countrymen so good a lead in such precautionary measures.

The country in which they now found themselves, with its

profusion of tropical vegetation, its trees and plants, both wild and cultivated, and birds and fishes, many of them of new species, made a special appeal to the naturalists. And to these delights were added those others, no less important, genuine relaxation and welcome change of food, after the discomforts of the sea voyage. The collections made during their frequent excursions were the rewards of their efforts, but acquisition formed only a part of the expenditure of effort. "I was employed most of the day", Labillardière would sometimes write, "in preparing and describing the objects I had collected on the preceding day." For the preservation and proper storage on board ship of all these newly-won and precious possessions were matters of great concern to enthusiastic scientists. Through the kindness of the Dutch Governor they were able to obtain accommodation on land, and this increased their freedom of movement in the pursuit of knowledge. But innocent and industrious philosophers may be called on to submit to undeserved hardships on land as well as at sea, and Labillardière, in a resigned tone, related to his world of readers a little incident that occurred soon after their arrival:

"All of us had the greatest need of remaining on shore in order to recover our strength, and the Governor gave us leave to take lodgings in the town. As we intended to remain at Amboyna for at least a month I was obliged to transport to the place where we were to lodge many things necessary for the preparation of the different productions which I intended to collect in the island. The other naturalists and I had agreed to live in the same house. It was prepared for our reception, and our baggage had been carried into it, when, to our great astonishment, we found it occupied by some officers of the two ships, who very well knew that we had hired the house, but the man who had the key, when he gave it to them, thought that he was forwarding it to us. This malicious trick, of which we did not think them capable, amused them vastly, but it was easy for us to find other lodgings."

If Labillardière, in his relations with the officers of the expedition, was as free in his speech as he was with his pen when writing his narrative of the voyage, and there is no reason to doubt this, it is not surprising that he found the sailors somewhat unsympathetic and even unkind to Messieurs the Naturalists. He has the reputation of having possessed a bitter tongue, and being of an excessively independent nature he no doubt resented the discipline and restraint to which he and his colleagues had to submit on board ship. Perhaps the leader of the expedition, with the best of intentions, was incapable of inspiring and cultivating a spirit of good fellowship amongst the people under him, as La Pérouse had done with such success.

It was D'Entrecasteaux's intention, when he left Amboyna

on the 13th October, to traverse the coast of Australia, starting from Shark's Bay. Baffling winds, however, interfered with this design, and he made his land-fall near Cape Leeuwin on the 5th December, carrying on from the cape an examination of part of the southern coast of what is now Western Australia. It is surprising that on a voyage offering such great opportunities for discovery in parts hitherto untouched by others this area should have been included in the programme of work, but the Admiral was acting in strict accordance with his instructions from the French Government. The course originally laid down in his orders would have taken him to Amsterdam Island, then to Cape Leeuwin, there to begin the survey of the coast as far as the Islands of St. Francis and St. Peter, which, although previously visited by Peter Nuyts, in 1627, was " to be examined and visited as if he (the Admiral) were making the first discovery of it ". From these islands he was to carry on the work eastwards along the unknown coast to Tasmania. Moreover, as there might be a chance of finding remains of the La Pérouse expedition even in those parts the traverse of the coast was to be a very close one, and all places having the appearance of bays and ports were to be inspected by boat journeys. It is idle to conjecture what the result might have been had the Commander's instructions not been burdened in this manner, and had his point of departure been fixed, not at Cape Leeuwin, but at St. Francis and St. Peter.

It was a real misfortune for D'Entrecasteaux that on the day after passing the Leeuwin he saw, but was unable to enter, a bay where he would have found a fine harbour, and much-needed water and food. This was King George Sound, discovered the previous year by Captain George Vancouver, then on his way to Nootka Sound, to settle a famous dispute with the Spanish. " At six o'clock in the evening ", wrote the Admiral, " we discovered a capacious bay, with two small islands at its opening ; it was only after passing it that we were able to perceive that it would have afforded us shelter from the winds of the ocean. I had a great desire to go and anchor in that bay, but we were already well to leeward, and the weather was so bad that it would have been impossible to enter it by tacking." D'Entrecasteaux did not know how fine the haven was he was thus leaving behind or he would certainly have made an effort to gain it, thereby altering, in all probability, the future course of the expedition. But such mischances weave themselves into the texture of all adventure, and ' good luck ' and ' good hunting ' had little part in D'Entrecasteaux's ill-fated expedition, except in the land of Van Diemen.

Three days later, however, the ships found a shelter from the winds, although it could boast little else, and had been attained by considerable risks in finding a passage through outlying reefs. As the *Espérance* had led the way into this refuge the name of that vessel was given to it, a title ill-suited to the inhospitable spot where an anchorage had been discovered, for any hope of finding water in quantities sufficient to lay in a stock had to be abandoned. A few seals, swans and penguins were secured as food, but the question of drinking water had lately become so serious that the daily allowance was reduced, and the Commander recognized that he might be compelled to give up the work in hand and sail for Recherche Bay, where he could rely on securing an abundant supply.

Some repairs to the *Espérance* being completed, the ships were preparing to leave the bay when an event occurred whereby Riche, one of the naturalists, nearly lost his life. He had gone ashore to the mainland with a party from the *Recherche*, and had been informed that the boat would return to the ship at one o'clock in the afternoon, before the sea breeze became too strong for embarking. In his eagerness to make the most of this opportunity he wandered away alone, and although the boat waited till seven in the evening he failed to return. As the smoke of several fires had been seen inland, showing the presence of natives, grave fears concerning his fate were entertained. A boat was sent to the landing early next morning to make a search ; some natives were seen in the distance, but there were no signs of the missing man. On the return of the boat D'Entrecasteaux consulted with the two naturalists on the *Recherche*, and it was arranged that they should accompany two armed parties, which were provided with food sufficient for four days, and were instructed to scour the country inland. They came across tracks of the missing man amongst the sand dunes, in which it had been an easy matter for one more intent on peering at plants he met with than on watching his direction, to lose the way. Riche, however, by good fortune, wandered back to the landing, after being away over fifty hours. He had been lucky enough to find some water, but he had lost the prized trophies of the chase gathered during his meanderings. He had seen some natives, and, hoping to obtain food, had advanced towards them. But the spectacle of a white man, apparently unarmed, was so entirely novel and beyond their comprehension and experience, that they retreated quicker than he could progress. His attempts to come up with them filled them with suspicion and alarm and probably saved his life. Notwithstanding his sufferings, Riche was well able to give a good account of his

adventure, and even to describe the plants and animals he had met with. Now, this incident most likely brought to a climax the strained relations between the naval officers and the civilians on board the ship, for the Admiral confided to his journal, and may have made them clearly known to the naturalists themselves, his decided views on their work in relation to the other activities of the expedition :

"This event has given rise to complaints of the naturalists, who seem to have believed that astronomy and hydrography were receiving preference over natural history. It will not be difficult for me to refute so ill-founded a reproach, for in no case have officers deputed to make astronomical observations gone ashore without the naturalists being permitted to do likewise, and these gentlemen have only been instructed not to wander away from the boats when the observatories had been taken down. If opportunities for landing have been more rare than one would have wished, it is to be set down to the bad sailing qualities of the ships and to the length of the sea courses, which have not allowed us to put into port frequently. I have indeed urged the naturalists not to embark in boats intended to reconnoitre coasts close to the places where we might be anchored, for these reasons : The duty of these boats is to examine sea-passages, to range along the shores and to make soundings. The officers in charge have been instructed to go ashore only for the purpose of making observations and occupying survey stations for very short periods. Such short visits to the land could not suit the naturalists, who would be compelled to pass the greater part of the time in the boats to no purpose. It is impossible to put forward too strongly the advantage of only employing people on this kind of campaign who belong to the naval service, because such persons would never advance indiscreet requests, and would be less disposed to set down to illwill such remarks as would necessarily be made to them on the impossibility of yielding to the wishes they might express without due regard to their inconvenience."

Labillardière went so far as to accuse the commanders of the two ships of being ready to abandon Riche to his fate without causing a proper search to be instituted. He even made the statement that it was he who persuaded them to delay the departure of the ships for such a purpose by quoting the example of Cook, who, on his last voyage, in December 1777, when anchored off Christmas Island, sent parties ashore to look for two of his sailors, one of whom was missing for a day, and the other for two days. It is impossible to place full reliance on this story of Labillardière, or to doubt the sincerity of D'Entrecasteaux's version of what took place. The truth seems to be that the naturalist was too inclined to take offence at imaginary slights, and, in consequence, was apt to put wrong interpretations on the words and actions of those with whose decisions he was

compelled, however unwillingly, to conform. But his undoubted enthusiasm in the pursuit of knowledge in his own sphere condones to some extent these personal shortcomings, and his industry and zeal must always stand to his credit in the tale of botanical pioneering in Tasmania, while his comments on other matters, more especially those on the natives of the country, could ill be spared.

Upon leaving Espérance Bay, D'Entrecasteaux worked along the coast towards the east, arriving in the neighbourhood of the Isle of St. Francis on the 3rd of January 1793. He was then informed by Captain de Kermadec that the *Espérance* was in no condition to continue the work, the water remaining was only just sufficient for requirements as far as Tasmania, the rudder was damaged, and the use of anti-scorbutics stopped. The supply of water on the leader's ship was little better, and there was, therefore, no other course open to him but to make for the known land of refuge that had served his people so well the previous year. It is worthy of note that owing to the westerly set of the currents met with after turning south D'Entrecasteaux considered the probability of a strait separating Tasmania from the land to the north ; although doubting its existence he decided to sail to Point Hicks to investigate the matter when he had finished his work in the southern land.

The southern part of Tasmania now had for D'Entrecasteaux a great attraction. It was there he had made an important discovery the previous year that far outweighed anything done during the voyage since then, and he was not without hope of adding to that success. He would have preferred to sail up the channel, anchoring in its middle area, and this would have saved time, but the bad condition of the *Espérance* demanded immediate attention, and the ships therefore put into Recherche Bay, casting anchor in the southern inlet, Rocky Bay, on 21st January. Twenty-three days were spent in repairs, in wooding and watering, but surveys were carried on and the work of the previous year in Rocky Bay itself and in Mussel Bay (Southport) were added to and improved. The latter part of the visit was enlivened for all hands by friendly intercourse established with the local natives, who appear to have been travelling south, coming on the scene, to D'Entrecasteaux's regret, but a few days before the ships sailed north. Labillardière's lively account will be drawn on presently for a description of the meetings which took place between the two parties, white and black.

The second anchorage was a little south of Green Island. Both ships ran aground near here, but were successfully floated

off without damage. A boat journey of capital value was completed at this point. This was a reconnaissance survey of Port Cygnet and the Huon River, an investigation that had not been possible the previous year. (Plate 7.) The same party had added to this useful traverse by proceeding to the isthmus between the two parts of Bruny Island and there measuring a base two miles long, for the purpose of giving accuracy to the triangulation survey carried along the Channel by the French hydrographers from the southern entrance to its northern exit.

But a boat journey of primary importance was now ordered by D'Entrecasteaux. On the 14th February, after instructing Captain Huon to send one of his boats to examine North-West Bay, he dispatched a party from the *Recherche,* under the orders of Willaumez, to visit the deep bays that had been seen the year before when the ships emerged from the Channel into Storm Bay. Beautemps-Beaupré, as was usual in major operations of this kind, accompanied the party. It was impossible for the Admiral to forecast the true significance of his action. He was at the time chiefly engaged in attempting to solve a riddle, to ascertain if the " Maria Islands " of Furneaux and Cook (Tasman's Peninsula) were in fact separated from the mainland, and to put back, so to speak, into its correct position the Frederik Hendriks Bay of Tasman. It would have surprised but pleased him had he been told that one of the outstanding harbours of the world was so near at hand, and that even his own recent discovery of the Channel to which his name had been given would, ere long, take lower rank than that about to be made by the two officers of his expedition whom he had nominated for the work and whose names are thus associated with it (18).

With his boat provisioned for four days Willaumez turned north after leaving the Channel, and soon after entered what he naturally considered an arm of the sea. Keeping to the westward, and following fairly closely the shores of the bays, he pushed on and found himself at last, as the shores closed in, sailing up a broad river. He then realized that the spacious sheet of water he had already passed through was the mouth or estuary of this river. Presently he came to a cove with a small stream of good water running into it. This was probably the Glenorchy Rivulet. Near a bend of the river, at a point above Mt. Direction, he turned back. Keeping now to the eastern shore he made a rapid examination of Ralph's Bay before braving the open waters of Storm Bay. To the hydrographer, Beautemps-Beaupré, the enterprise in which he had just taken part must have conveyed its full meaning. Trained to observe and to chart with scrupulous

(18) Note.

care all the features of roadsteads, anchorages, channels and harbours, he could not have failed to note the advantages in the way of shelter and freedom from shoals and dangers which the newly-found haven offered to a mariner. To its accessibility and the abundance of wood and water everywhere in evidence were added the promise of a land suitable for settlement, and a climate fit for Europeans. The French called the river they had discovered the River of the North, a name that was neither descriptive nor appropriate. It was soon superseded by one more suitable.

Willaumez now set about the second part of his programme. Turning eastward he reached Slopen Island at the end of the third day. He was now in a difficult position, having food sufficient for but one day more. However, his men were willing that their rations should be reduced, and the next day he set out with the hope of reaching the head of the bay he saw before him. Unfortunately bad weather set in, and he had to take shelter under a point to which the name Renard was given. This point is, in fact, close to the East Bay Neck, so that he might have been able, with better luck, to arrive at the isthmus and walk across to the real Frederik Hendriks Bay, thus securing a possible solution of the problem that had been given to him. Bad weather prevented any attempt being made next morning to travel farther to the east, and the broken nature of the country lying in that direction made it impossible to come to any definite conclusion with regard to a channel leading to the east coast. That day, the fifth since leaving the ship, the return journey was made. D'Entrecasteaux had become anxious about the safety of the boat. Both ships had previously moved up towards the mouth of the Channel, and the Commander, on the following morning, sent the *Espérance* ahead to look for the boat, but before she had time to leave the passage the boat party arrived and were received on board, completely exhausted and benumbed with cold. They were kept on the *Espérance* to recover from their exertions, and a message was sent to advise the chief that they were safe.

A fine piece of exploring work had thus been accomplished. The boat had covered a distance of about 120 miles, a first-class harbour had been brought, as it were, into the daylight, and a bold attempt, not without some results, had been made to decide the puzzling question of Frederik Hendriks Bay. D'Entrecasteaux summed up the whole situation as it appeared to him with this comment :

" It seems that all the sheltered spots of New Holland are gathered

together in the neighbourhood of South Cape, to the east of which one finds an uninterrupted range of harbours, ports and bays, which form one vast haven eighteen leagues in latitude and fourteen in longitude. I do not believe that elsewhere in the globe there is such a great number of excellent anchorages assembled in so small an area."

With the information he now possessed the Commander was able to expose the errors made by Furneaux and Cook concerning the places charted and named by Tasman, though he himself fell into the error, a natural one, of supposing that a channel did exist where the isthmus now known as East Bay Neck lies. He determined to sail to Oyster Bay, discovered by Cox, and to clear up the whole position. Unfortunately, when he moved out of the Channel, the weather compelled him to put into Adventure Bay. The time thus lost, coupled with the delays that had previously occurred, compelled him to abandon, not only this, but the far more important project of making for Point Hicks, in order to investigate more fully in the region where Furneaux had failed. However, when he left Adventure Bay on 27th February, he sailed up the east coast as far as Cape Frederik Hendrik, and, before bearing away for New Zealand, satisfied himself with regard to the positions of Marion Bay and of the Maria Island of Tasman and of Cox.

We have now to note some of the main features of what Labillardière had to say about this visit of the two ships to Tasmania in 1793, more particularly his descriptions of the friendly intercourse which the French managed to establish with the natives. These accounts are of essential importance, because they constitute one of the three outstanding sources of our information concerning the aborigines prior to the settlement of white men on the island.

"The whole of the 26th January I spent in describing and preparing everything I had collected since our arrival in Rocky Bay. I was astonished at the great variety of productions still afforded me by this part of New Holland, where I had been very diligent in my researches for more than a month the preceding year. On February 2nd we planned a visit to the highest of the mountains in this part of New Holland, each of us taking provisions for five days. After a very laborious walk we at length reached the summit of a hill whence we perceived to the south the middle of the roadstead of South Cape, and to the north-west the large mountain towards which we were directing our steps. We slept in the open air, for we would have found it difficult to construct a shelter in a short time among the large trees, this part of the forest being destitude of shrubs. We looked in vain for large trunks hollowed out by fire, but these are to be found only in places frequented by the natives, and nothing gave us any intimation that they ever came into the midst of these dense woods.

The difficulty we experienced in forcing our way through the forests, and the insufficiency of our food if we were to reach the mountain, compelled us to give up our project, and we therefore resolved to travel along the sea-shore. This route, notwithstanding its obstacles, was frequented by the natives, for we found one of their spears. It was no more than a very long straight stick, which they had not taken the trouble to smooth, and was pointed at each end. The side of the mountain at once place being exposed for a considerable extent we observed a horizontal vein of coal, of which the greatest thickness did not exceed four inches. It was resting on sandstone and was covered by a dark brown schist. I assumed from these indications that at a greater depth plenty of good coal would be found. The rust with which I perceived some water trickling from rocks to be highly coloured was the first indication afforded me that the mountains hereabouts contain iron, but it was not long before I found some fine pieces of hematite of a red bronze colour, and farther on an ochry earth of a fairly bright red. Small separate fragments of tripoli were also scattered about the road we followed. Having passed the first two headlands to the west of South (*East*) Cape, we returned towards the latter, where we spent a very uncomfortable night, some stagnant waters and the extreme calmness of the air unfortunately exposing us to all the fury of the mosquitoes. On the afternoon of the 5th we arrived on board."

"On the 7th the gardener and I, with two of the crew, set out for Port D'Entrecasteaux (North Port) intending to spend two days there (Plate 7). We landed on its western side and fortunately found ourselves upon an oyster-bank, of which we collected an abundant supply. We proceeded north-east and reached the head of the great lake (*Southport Lagoon*), along the borders of which we walked as far as the sea. We spent the night near a rivulet, sheltered solely by the great trunks of trees, but the piercing cold soon obliged us to kindle a large fire. Next morning at daylight the gardener and I proceeded to the lake. After walking a couple of miles we heard human voices and perceived through the trees a number of the natives, most of whom appeared to be fishing on the shores of the lake. Being ignorant of their intentions and quite unarmed we returned to our companions, each of whom had a musket. After informing our men why we had returned I expressed a strong desire to have an interview with the natives. It was now only nine o'clock. We had gone only a few steps before we met them. The men and youths were ranged in front, nearly in a semi-circle, the women, girls and children were a few paces behind. As they did not show any appearance of hostility I did not hesitate to go up to the eldest man, who accepted with very good grace a piece of biscuit I offered him, of which he had seen me eat. I held out my hand as a sign of friendship, and had the pleasure of seeing that he understood my meaning very well; he gave me his hand, inclining himself a little and raising his left foot, which he carried backward in proportion as he bent his body forward."

"My companions also advanced towards the other natives, and immediately the best understanding prevailed between us. They

received with joy the handkerchiefs we offered them; one of the young men gave me a few small shells of the whelk kind, pierced near the middle and strung on a cord. This he wore round his head. A handkerchief supplied the place of this present. We were wearing plenty of clothes on account of the coldness of the nights, and we bestowed the greater part on these islanders. It appeared very astonishing to us that in so high a latitude these people did not feel the necessity of clothing themselves. Some of them had only the shoulders and part of the back covered with a kangaroo skin, worn with the hair next the body. The sole garment of one was a strip of kangaroo skin, about two inches broad, wrapped six or seven times round the waist, another had on a collar of skin, and some had a slender cord wound several times round the head. I afterwards learned that most of these cords were made from the bark of shrubs of the order thymelaceæ, which are quite common in this country. The natives were very appreciative of the value of our knives, and accepted a few tin vessels with pleasure. My watch excited their envy, especially that of one man, who wished to possess it, but he quickly desisted when he saw that I did not wish to part with it. This party of savages numbered forty-two, seven of whom were men, eight women, the others appearing to be their children. We invited them all to come and sit near our fire, and one of the savages informed us by unmistakeable signs that he had seen us asleep the night before; we had slept indeed with the utmost tranquillity, although actually we had been at their mercy throughout the whole night. These people have woolly hair and let their beards grow. Their skin is not of a very deep black, but no doubt they consider extreme blackness a beauty, for they rub themselves, especially the upper parts of the body, with powdered charcoal. The custom of extracting two of the front teeth of the upper jaw, which had been supposed to be general amongst the inhabitants of this country, certainly had not been introduced into this tribe, for we did not see a single instance of it, indeed they all had very good teeth."

"For some little time I had not seen the young women of the party, and thought they had all withdrawn into the woods, but happening to look behind me I was surprised to see seven of them, who had perched themselves on a large bough more than ten feet above the ground. From there they had been closely watching our least movements. They formed a charming group. We were at a considerable distance from the shore where a boat was to wait for us to take us on board, and it was now time for us to go. We were leaving these peaceable inhabitants with regret when we saw the men and four of the youths separating from the rest in order to accompany us. Soon one of the stoutest of them went into the woods and returned at once holding two long spears; on nearing us he made signs that we need not fear anything. He appeared, on the contrary, to wish to place us under the protection of his weapons. On requesting him to give us a specimen of his dexterity he grasped one of them near the middle with his right hand, then raising it as high as his head and holding it horizontally he drew it back towards him three times with a jerk, which gave the extremities a very perceptible tremulous movement, he then hurled

it nearly a hundred paces. He then aimed at an object which we pointed out to him, and every time was near enough to it to give us a high idea of his skill. Another man showed us two holes in a kangaroo skin, thus giving us to understand that they employed such weapons to kill those animals. The attentions lavished on us by these savages astonished us greatly. If our path were interrupted by heaps of dry branches some of them walked ahead and removed these to either side, they even broke off such as stretched across our way from the trees that had fallen down. We could not walk on the dry grass without slipping every now and then, particularly where the ground sloped. To prevent our falling these good savages took hold of us by the arm and thus supported us; they frequently stationed themselves one on each side to support us the better. As soon as the boat came we invited some of them to go on board with us. After a long time three of them consented to get into the boat, but they had no intention to quit their party, for they got out again in great haste as soon as we prepared to push off."

"The next day (9th February) we returned in a large party to the same savages. Some of them soon came to meet us, expressing by their cries the pleasure they felt at seeing us again. Our musician had brought his violin on shore, imagining he would excite as much enthusiasm among them by some noisy tunes as we had observed at Buka, but his self-esteem was truly mortified by the indifference shown by the people here. A lively joy was depicted on all the features of the party who had welcomed us so well the day before, when they saw us drawing near. There were nineteen of them round three small fires, making their meal on mussels, which they roasted on the coals and ate as fast as they were ready. Every now and then some of the women went to pick these shell-fish from under the neighbouring rocks, and did not return till they had filled their baskets with them. We saw them broil on the same fires that species of sea-weed which is called *fucus palmatus*, and when it was softened to a certain degree they tore it to pieces and ate it. They would not taste any of the food we offered them; they would not even permit their children to eat the sugar we gave them, being careful to take it out of their mouths the moment they were going to taste it. Some of them were seated on kangaroo skins, and others had a little pillow, about eight inches long and covered with skin on which they rested one of their elbows."

"The painter of the expedition made the natives understand that he wished to have his skin covered with charcoal, just as theirs was. Immediately one of the natives selected some friable charcoal, which he reduced to powder by rubbing it in his hands. He then applied this to the exposed parts by hand-rubbing, and soon our friend Piron was as black as a New Hollander. The savage, completely satisfied with his performance, was careful to prevent any of the charcoal from entering the painter's eyes. No doubt we missed a good deal by not understanding the language of these natives, for one of the girls talked for a long time to us with an extraordinary volubility. She must have seen that we could not comprehend her meaning, but no matter, she had to talk! Others attempted more than once to charm us by songs, with

the modulation of which I was singularly struck, from their great analogy with those of Asia Minor. Several times two of them sang the same tune at once, but one was always a third above the other, striking this concord with the greatest precision."

"The repairs of the two vessels were now completed. The trials that our carpenters had made the preceding year of the wood of the *Eucalyptus Globulus* decided them to use it in preference to other species of the same kind. On the 10th a great number of us from both ships landed to endeavour to see the savages again. It was not long before some of them came to meet us, giving us tokens of the greatest confidence. They first examined with great attention the insides of our boats, and then they took us by the arm and invited us to follow them along the shore. We had gone a little over a mile when we found ourselves in the midst of a body of forty eight of them, ten men, fourteen women and twenty-four children. Seven fires were burning, and round each was assembled a little family. About noon we saw them prepare their meal. Hitherto we had but a faint idea of the pains the women take to procure the food requisite for the subsistence of their families. They each took a basket and were followed by their daughters, who did the same. Getting on the rocks that jutted out into the water they plunged from them to the bottom in search of shell fish. When they had been down some time we became very uneasy on their account, for where they had dived there were sea-weeds of great length, and we feared that they might have been entangled in these, and unable to regain the surface. At length, however, they appeared, and showed us that it was easy for them to remain under water twice as long as our most skilled divers. An instant was sufficient for them to take breath, and then they dived again. This they did repeatedly till their baskets were nearly full. They quitted the water only to bring their husbands the fruits of their labour. We were all most distressed to see these poor women condemned to such severe toil. Several times we entreated their husbands to take a share in their labour, but always in vain. They remained constantly near the fire, feasting on the best morsels, and munching broiled fucus. Now and then they employed themselves by breaking up pieces of dry wood to feed the fires. Two of the stoutest of the party were sitting in the midst of their children, and each had two women by his side. They informed us by signs that these were their wives, and thus gave us proof that polygamy is established among them. The other women, who had only one husband each, were equally careful to let us know it. It would be difficult to say which are the happiest. During the time we spent with them nothing appeared to indicate that they had any chiefs. Each family, on the contrary, seemed to us to live in perfect independence, though we observed in the children the greatest subordination to their parents, and in the women the same attitude towards their husbands."

"On the 12th of February everything was ready for our departure and we only waited for a fair wind. Being delayed by a calm we were pleased to see that the savages, who had promised at our last interview to come near our anchoring place, had kept their word. A great

number of us repaired to the rendez-vous. It was the first time that Admiral D'Entrecasteaux had the pleasure of seeing the natives. There were five of them. One of them carried a piece of decayed wood in his hand, lighted at one end and burning slowly. He used this as a kind of match to maintain fire. The others being invited by some of our crew to dance in a ring with them imitated all their movements tolerably well. We made them presents of a great number of things, which they let us hang round their necks with strings, and soon they were almost covered with them, apparently to their great satisfaction, but they gave us nothing, for they had brought nothing with them, probably in order that they might travel more easily. They were much surprised to see us kindle some spongy bark in the focus of a magnifying glass. The man who appeared to be the most intelligent amongst them, wishing to try the effect of the lens himself, threw the converging rays of the sun upon his thigh by its means, but the pain he felt took from him any desire to repeat that experiment. One of the natives, after being shown the frigates through a telescope, yielded to our solicitations to go on board the *Recherche* in one of our boats. He went up the side with an air of confidence, and examined the interior of the ship with great attention, anything serving for food securing his principal scrutiny. After having remained on board more than half an hour he wished to return, and was immediately taken ashore, loaded with presents. We had taken a monkey on shore with us, and this afforded much amusement to the savages. They have their own names for every plant. We assured ourselves that their botanical knowledge was consistent by asking different individuals several times the names of the same plants. We set ashore here a pair of goats in hopes of naturalising these animals in New Holland. They will succeed on the mountains at this extremity of the country, and should be a great help to navigators, though it is to be feared that the savages will destroy them before they have had time to increase."

"On the 16th when at anchor in the Channel some of the natives appeared on the eastern shore (Bruny Island); others soon joined them, and we could count as many as ten. We hastened on shore in a large party to have a nearer view; they advanced towards us without arms, their smiling countenances leaving us no room to doubt that our visit gave them pleasure. Their joy was expressed by loud bursts of laughter, at the same time they carried their hands to their heads and made a quick tapping on the ground with their feet. They were very grateful when we gave them a few pieces of material of different colours, some glass beads, a hatchet and other articles of hardware. We noticed some in whom one of the middle teeth of the upper jaw was wanting, and others who lacked both. We could not learn the object of this custom, but it is not general, for the greater number of the people had all their teeth. They appeared to be equally ignorant with the others we had seen of the use of the bow. I ought to remark that we did not see a single inhabitant who had the least trace of skin disease, which by no means agrees with the opinion of those who maintain that those who live on fish are subject to a kind of leprosy."

"On the morning of the 22nd we anchored in Adventure Bay. During the time we remained here I made excursions into the adjacent country every day, but found little to add to the ample collections I had already made at Cape Diemen (Recherche). We found a raft which the waves had thrown up upon the western shore of Adventure Bay. It was made of the bark of trees. The pieces of bark from which it was constructed were in the form of sheets, and these were much thinner than the bark of the *eucalyptus resinifera*. They had been combined (held together) by means of bands made with the leaves of grasses formed into a woven web of a very large mesh, most of the openings of this network having the shape of a fairly regular pentagon. The steep hills which skirt the sandy shore of the bay to the north contained caves, which appeared to be pretty well frequented by the natives, judging by the black colour they had received from smoke and by the remains of shell-fish we found there. Several inscriptions engraved on the trunks of trees informed us that Captain Bligh had anchored in this bay in February, 1792. He had with him two botanists, who sowed at a little distance from the shore cresses, a few acorns, celery, etc. We saw three young fig trees, two pomegranate trees and a quince tree they had planted, which had thriven very well; but it appeared to us that one of the trees had already perished, for the following inscription, found on a tree nearby, mentions seven: 'Near this tree Captain William Bligh planted seven fruit Trees, 1792. Messrs. S. and W. Botanists.' The other inscriptions were couched in nearly similar terms. They all displayed the same marks of deference which the English botanists paid the commander of their ship, by putting only the initial letters of their own names, and by indicating that the Captain himself had sown and planted the various vegetable productions which he had carried from Europe. I am extremely doubtful if Bligh valued very highly the honours which the botanists wished to pay him."

"Our fishers were fairly fortunate at this place. The fires they kindled along the shore at night attracted a large quantity of fish to their nets. This stratagem had succeeded so well with the fishers on the *Espérance* in D'Entrecasteaux Channel that they had laid in a stock sufficient for some months, some of it preserved in strong brine and some by drying. We landed a pair of goats here, putting up our prayers that the savages might allow them to multiply on the island. If so it may bring about a total change in the mode of life of the inhabitants, who may then become a pastoral people, may abandon without regret the borders of the sea, and taste the pleasure of not being compelled to dive in it in search of their food at the risk of being devoured by sharks."

Well satisfied with the way in which his initial discoveries in Tasmania had developed, leading to further valuable additions to geographical knowledge, D'Entrecasteaux left the island to resume the search for La Pérouse. He had been instructed to visit Cape Maria Van Diemen, the northern point of New Zealand,

before proceeding to the Friendly Isles, and this route was now followed. Seventeen days were spent at Tongatabu, and the Admiral was satisfied from the inquiries made that the missing explorer had not visited any of these islands. (Captain Peter Dillon, in 1827, when making investigations at the Friendly Islands concerning the French expedition, received information convincing him that it called at Namuka, the "Amsterdam" of Tasman, before going on to Vanikoro, where the disaster occurred.) Passing on by way of the southern group of the New Hebrides, where no search was made, probably because those islands were not included in the itinerary of La Pérouse, the ships came to anchor in the harbour of Balade, on the north-east corner of New Caledonia, discovered by Cook in 1774, on his second voyage. Here again the hunters drew a blank, for no tidings could be learned of their countrymen, but at least the naturalists of the expedition were able to indulge their instincts for the chase as fiercely "as any hawk for the tender dove."

If the French Admiral at this time held the view, as he might well have done, that the explorations recently carried out in Tasmania in some sort gave his country claims to its possession, and if he had been told that that country was and would remain British territory, it would have been some consolation to him to have known that this other country, New Caledonia, discovered by an English sailor, and rich in nickel, chrome and cobalt, was eventually to become a great French possession. It is natural to pause here and put this question: Did D'Entrecasteaux have within his heart at this time the hope and expectation that the newly-discovered harbour in the "River of the North" in Tasmania would become a centre of French commerce in the southern seas? It may be that it was not considered desirable to make much of the "new find" at this time. The Admiral did not enlarge on it, Labillardière did not mention it. Was the former holding these matters in strict reserve for confidential report to his Government? Be that as it may, here at Balade an event occurred which associates that port with Tasmania, for Huon de Kermadec, the captain of the *Espérance*, and a personal friend of the Admiral, after two months' illness, died of consumption on the 6th of May 1793, on board his ship. His Christian name, Huon, remains as that of an important river in Tasmania, and his family name, Kermadec, in the distorted form Kermandie, has been given to a tributary of the larger river. He was buried at nightfall on the small island called by Cook Observatory Island, and no mark was placed upon the grave lest his remains should be disturbed by the savages and hostile inhabitants of the place. D'Entrecasteaux appointed his first

lieutenant, D'Auribeau, to the command of the *Espérance*, and Rossel became flag-captain on the *Recherche*.

On 9th May, after a visit of seventeen days, the ships put to sea. "The meagre supplies which this country has to offer," wrote the Commander, "the ferocity of its inhabitants, and the loss that we had sustained, caused us to quit this harbour with the greatest satisfaction." Ten days later, by the irony of fate, the expedition, in utter ignorance of the blow that fortune, in an unkind mood, was striking at its hopes and endeavours, caught sight of the very island, Vanikoro, where the ships of La Pérouse had reached their sad end. And D'Entrecasteaux says these few words about the event.

"Another island was seen a little time after in the east. All these islands are part of the group called by Carteret Queen Charlotte Islands. The island that we observed to the east had not been seen by Carteret; we called it *The Island of the Research*; we saw it at such a distance we could not place it on our maps with precision; however, we fixed its latitude and longitude."

Thus it was that a malignant fate seemed to scoff at the efforts of the Frenchmen to come at the remains of their countrymen, and, after bringing them so near to the island, allowed them to fix its position, even to give it the very name of their great quest, "Research"! Had some Power directed their course but a few miles farther to the east, they would surely have discovered those of their countrymen still alive on the island at the time they passed it by. Interviews with the natives of Santa Cruz, not many miles to the north of Vanikoro, made at sea with the occupants of canoes, for the sailors did not land there, failed to disclose the possession of anything likely to have belonged to La Pérouse or his people.

Little more remains to be told about the voyage, which was now approaching its disastrous and inglorious ending. After skirting the southern parts of the Solomon Islands and the northern areas of the Louisiade Archipelago, the ships passed through Dampier Strait, between New Guinea and New Britain, having interviews with the natives here and there, but obtaining little in the way of food. Scurvy had already made its appearance amongst the crews of both vessels, and even the Admiral was not exempt. He had become a victim of this dread disease of the seas soon after leaving New Caledonia, but, regardless of the possible consequences to himself, persisted in carrying on, when it would have been wise to have made the nearest civilized port. The last entry in his journal, made on the 8th of July, shows his tardy recognition of the true state of affairs:

"When we reached the northernmost part of New Britain I decided to sail for Java, where the necessity of our arrival became daily more urgent. The wine that remained was sour, our flour was rotten and we had begun to be destitute of every kind of provisions. The health of the crews, exhausted by a long and difficult voyage, demanded a rest in some place that could provide plenty of such supplies as would restore their strength, and furnish the ships with new stocks of food."

Labillardière's comment about the state of affairs at this time is short and to the point:

"We had been obliged for a long time to live upon worm-eaten biscuit and salt meat, which was already considerably tainted, in consequence of which scurvy had begun to make great ravages amongst us. Most of us were compelled to leave off using coffee, as it brought on very troublesome spasmodic affections."

On 20th July, when the ships were sailing westwards along the north coast of New Guinea, Admiral D'Entrecasteaux's sufferings came to an end. He was buried at sea with military honours on the following day, and Rossel bears witness to the vivid and sincere grief felt by his people for the loss of their commander.

A month later, with about thirty sick men on each vessel, the ships anchored at Boni, in the island of Waygiou, and obtained some much-needed refreshment. D'Auribeau now took command of the *Recherche*, and Rossel transferred to the *Espérance*, but the former, already a sick man, and in no condition for the responsibilities of a leader, delegated his authority to the capable Rossel. The unhealthy condition of the crews called for further relaxation ashore, and the ships therefore visited the port of Kajeli, on the island of Bouro, not far from Amboyna, where they were very well received by the Dutch Resident. Three weeks spent here in September under such conditions, with plentiful supplies of fish, fruit, yams and fresh beef, put new life into the patients suffering from scurvy, but as that disease disappeared, dysentery, of the form so justly dreaded in the tropics, began to make its appearance, and men, enervated by privations, began to die. It was high time to make for a port where comforts other than mere fresh provisions were obtainable. At length, on the 19th of October, the ships anchored near Sourabaya, but the embarrassed Dutch authorities kept them waiting for six days, without allowing communication with the shore, before agreeing to receive them in the port. Two-thirds of the ships' companies were sick with dysentery, and the balance hardly fit for work. In unexpected fashion the voyage promoted by one French Government to advance science and to search for

La Pérouse was brought to an abrupt end by the action of the Government that succeeded it in power and initiated the Reign of Terror.

If the French, when they anchored at Sourabaya, were in a condition of great distress, they were equally unfortunate in the time of their arrival. The revolutionary movement in France, begun before the ships sailed from Europe, had culminated on the 21st January 1793 (the day they entered Recherche Bay the second time), when the weak King Louis XVI was guillotined. Declaration of war against Holland had already been made, and the news of this had reached Java when the expedition, seeking for a haven of rest and unlimited hospitality, arrived there. The Dutch authorities solved the difficult situation thus created by interning the ships, and for a time they allowed the natural history section of their unwelcome guests considerable freedom for the prosecution of their studies. The political events in France divided the members of the expedition into two parties, for while most of the officers were Royalists, a small group, including Labillardière, Riche, and a few others, found themselves in the opposite camp, and were compelled to submit to restrictions on their liberty, and towards the end of their stay to confinement in a fortress. D'Auribeau died at Samarang in August 1794, and Rossel, as Senior Officer, gathered together the records and charts of the expedition. With these in his possession he set out for Europe in a Dutch ship early in 1795. Holland was now at war with Great Britain, having been forced in 1794 to join forces with the French Republic. Rossel's ship was captured off the coast of Scotland, an event which may not have been unpleasing to a Royalist, though he had the mortification of seeing his papers pass into the hands of the British Admiralty. He was well treated during the seven years he then spent in England, the Hydrographer's Department employing him to work out the results of the many observations taken during the voyage. He was thus enabled to devote much of his time to putting in order the material he had in hand concerning the expedition. After the Peace of Amiens in 1802, and at a time when the first Consul, Napoleon, soon to become Emperor, was recalling exiles from abroad, Rossel, at the earnest solicitation of the French Government, returned to his native country. On his departure the Admiralty restored to him the records and maps that had been captured with him, and it was a countryman of his own who recorded the fact that Rossel had only praise for the manner in which he had been treated by his British hosts. That his name is not to be found on the maps of Tasmania is a matter for some surprise. It is true that his name was given to

an unimportant point, the north headland at the entrance to Southport, the Baie des Moules of the French explorers (Plate 7), but it never came into use. The country would be doing honour to itself as well as to the memory of a fine sailor and a scientist, whose life was devoted to the advancement of navigation, by attaching his name to some prominent feature, for instance the Cape boldly facing Storm Bay, and now miscalled Cape Frederick Henry.

Java took terrible toll of the French expedition, and Labillardière reports that of 219 people who first composed it, 99 had died before he arrived at Mauritius on his journey back to France, most of these deaths having occurred as the result of the visit to the Dutch islands. One of the victims was the Purser of the *Recherche*, whose death disclosed the fact that this officer was a woman. This had long been suspected by her fellow voyagers, on account of her effeminate appearance and the reserved attitude she had always maintained. Labillardière states that an impulse of curiosity seems to have been her chief motive for joining the expedition, but it appears probable that she hoped, by assuming masculine dress, to obtain employment the more easily in order to support the young child she left behind her in the world. Labillardière himself was attacked by dysentery, but being well able to take his own part managed to secure attention, and recovered. There were for him, however, other troubles. He accused D'Auribeau of robbing him of all his collections, and of instigating the Dutch to deprive him of his observations and notes, property, in his opinion, of the most sacred kind. D'Auribeau, as a Royalist, doubtless wished to ensure that such valuable effects should find their way into quarters considered by him most proper to make use of them.

The survivors drifted back from Java to Europe as opportunities occurred. Citizen Riche was fortunate enough to get away from Batavia in July 1794, but, furious at the loss of his beloved collections, returned to Java to make a vain attempt to recover them. An invalid from his youth and always unfitted for the hardships of the long expedition he had so eagerly joined, his ill-health kept him at Mauritius till 1797, when he set out for his country. A month after his arrival he died, broken by separation from the treasures he valued more than life. Labillardière set sail for Mauritius in March 1795. A year later he arrived in France. He now discovered that his collections of natural history had been sent to England, and he induced the French Government to claim them. When Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, heard of this request he supported it with the warm-hearted zeal and enthusiasm he always felt

for botanical research. He was able to persuade the British Government to restore the collections, and when sending them to France without having even examined them, he wrote " that he had been afraid lest he might deprive the man who, at the risk of his life, had gone forth to win them, of a single botanical idea ".

D'Entrecasteaux's Expedition came to an end unhappily, as we have seen, at Sourabaya. It had failed in one of its great objects, the search for La Pérouse, but in carrying out its other notable function, geographical and scientific research, definite and important results had been attained. In both these directions its achievements in Tasmania stand out pre-eminently, but the investigations made elsewhere, in the Australian Bight, on the west coast of New Caledonia, and at some of the then little known islands near New Guinea, were not without utility in the epoch of development brought into being by the illuming energy of Cook, and by the settlement of New South Wales, with its commercial centre upon the sea. British are entitled to feel gratified that they contributed in no small degree to the completion of the work of the expedition. When the Government, at a time of strong international enmity, returned those prizes of war to the French, it was acting with correct instinct, worthy of a great seafaring people. We shall see later the response which these and other acts of generosity met with when an opportunity occurred to repay them.

CHAPTER XI

LIEUTENANT JOHN HAYES' VOYAGE, 1793–1794

THE voyagers of the eighteenth century who wrote accounts of their experiences, including those who told of expeditions that were mainly instituted for trading purposes and to seek fresh avenues for commerce, took pleasure in setting forth the high aims by which the promoters of the various enterprises were actuated. Thus the ends in view, it was often stated, were " the advance of human knowledge ", " the progress of science ", " the advantages of navigation and of hydrography ", and " geographical discoveries in little known lands ". And this was undoubtedly true of the large-scale exploring operations which were so great a feature of human progress in the latter half of the century. We have seen how even for the commercial undertakings of Marion and Cox the claim was made for those active " adventurers " that they were inspired to some extent by higher motives than mere personal gain, and the fact remains that each of them left his mark on the early geographical history of Tasmania. Now, just two months after the departure of Admiral D'Entrecasteaux from Adventure Bay, the island was visited by a little expedition whose story bears some resemblance to that of Marion, though happily the tragedy attending it, if so it may be called, was of quite another nature than that which awaited the unfortunate Frenchman and some of his companions after they left Tasmania. The leader in this case was an ambitious young Englishman, about twenty-six years in age, and it was owing to his personality and his desire to make some sort of a name for himself that a purely commercial scheme took on a double character, becoming a combination of business and discovery, and in the process showered names with generous hands upon the prominent features of Southern Tasmania, a few of which have survived the flight of time and remain as labels to the present day.

John Hayes, a lieutenant in the Bombay Marine, the Indian Navy, and therefore a servant of the East India Company, had seen a fair amount of active service both on sea and land when,

in 1792, the information he received from a friend of his, a brother officer in the Bombay Marine, opened out the prospect for a private and profitable venture which strongly appealed to his imagination and his temperament. This friend, John McCluer, who for years had been engaged on important marine surveys on behalf of the East India Company, had recently traversed part of the northern and south-west coasts of New Guinea. A large gulf or inlet in what is now Dutch territory still bears his name. In that region McCluer had seen what he believed to be the true or round nutmeg, the nutmeg of the Banda Islands, as well as other valuable spices, growing in a wild state and therefore to be had for the taking. Such an opportunity of acquiring something for nothing, or at least for very little, with that stout appeal to human nature that has always been so effective in influencing men of every degree, high or low, was not to be missed by those on the alert and ready to make good use of it. This was the system upon which the Dutch had built up their monopoly in spices, the same system that had enriched the Portuguese, Spanish and British in their respective spheres in the East. The rewards were not always certain, and the risks provided by pirates, by disease and by the dangers of sailing in uncharted seas had to be taken into account, but when the harvest seemed tempting daring adventurers were generally forthcoming to provide the means to gather it in. Hayes was able to persuade some Calcutta merchants and a few personal friends of his own to join with him in so promising an enterprise, of which he was to be the leader, with a share in the profits that might be won.

Two small vessels, the *Duke of Clarence*, 250 tons, and the *Duchess*, 100 tons, were fitted out and left Calcutta on 6th February 1793. It is impossible to say to what extent the East India Company approved of the enterprise, but that it acquiesced is certain, for Hayes and another of its officers, William Relph, were granted long leave of absence, and the Company knew that while commercial gain entered into the scheme there would be no interference with its own business undertakings. No doubt it was thought at the time that in the long run some advantage for its own interests might be derived from an adventure which involved no call upon its resources, and, on the other hand, might lead to a useful development of British trade in the East.

In a letter addressed the following year to Sir John Shore, the Governor-General of the Company in Bengal (afterwards the first Baron Teignmouth), Hayes stated that when he arrived at a point between Timor and the Australian coast he found the south-east monsoon against him, and that there was no hope

of being able to beat up to the coast of New Guinea. Faced with this difficulty a change of route had to be made, and, after consultation with his officers, he determined to go round the southern coast of New Holland in order to reach his objective with favouring winds. This alteration of plan may have suggested to his mind the idea of indulging in some exploring work on his own account, though it is quite possible that the youthful commander had begun the voyage with the intention of earning distinction, should the chance be granted to him, by making some additions to geographical knowledge. However that may be, it was in keeping with his character to play a bold forward game, to follow with determination the course he had selected as the best and to take those risks which his qualities as a keen sailorman allowed. Thus we see him, even at this early period in the voyage, after he arrived off the coast of Tasmania on the 24th of April, willing to spend over six weeks in D'Entrecasteaux Channel and in the Derwent, not half of which were needed for the necessary wooding and watering of the two small vessels. This delay may possibly account for a decidedly unpleasant affair that occurred while the merchantmen were in Tasmanian waters.

It is unfortunate that Hayes' journal of this voyage was lost, having been taken, it is said, by the French, when they captured a ship by which Hayes was sending it to England. For it would have been interesting to Tasmanians to follow in detail the movements of the ships as they made their way, first into D'Entrecasteaux Channel and then into the Estuary of the Derwent, and finally into the river itself, to which the commander gave its present name. Happily we are not without one official record, an important one, giving a picture of the country as it presented itself to the eyes of the Indian Naval officer. This is the original chart of the route survey of the part of Tasmania visited by him. It was probably drawn in Calcutta from data supplied by Hayes and was presented to Sir John Shore (Plate 8). This document is now in the Hydrographic Department of the British Admiralty, and undoubtedly formed the basis upon which the published maps of Hayes' "survey" of Tasmania were constructed. Alexander Dalrymple, who was appointed to be the first Hydrographer of the Admiralty in 1795, was hydrographer of the East India Company at the time of Hayes' voyage, and one of the maps published came out under his authority. In addition to this chart we have a few general remarks made by Hayes on his visit; these are included in two letters describing his voyage and available from annals of the Company in the Record Department of the India Office, London.

It is important to bear in mind that when Hayes included

Tasmania in his itinerary he was quite ignorant that two months earlier D'Entrecasteaux had sailed away from the island, after having made, in two successive seasons, a very thorough survey of a great part of its southern waters. No doubt he had heard of the French expedition, and of the reason for its presence in southern seas, but the possibility that it might have spent weeks in carrying out a detailed investigation of the remote region he now proposed to explore was too small to have suggested itself to his mind. Hayes therefore considered, when he sailed to the head of Storm Bay, (though that name does not appear on his chart, and its correct position was not then known to him), that he was about to deal with an area hitherto untouched by earlier visitors to the country, and it is easy to imagine that he entered upon this self-imposed task with all the enthusiasm and zeal of a true explorer.

The first anchorage of the two ships (Plate 8) was near the mouth of the Channel, an exposed position, except under exceptionally good weather conditions, and that they had the benefit of favourable winds at the time is shown by the course followed when running up Storm Bay. Hayes now moved into the Channel, and presently found a safe and comfortable port, which he called Pruen Harbour. Its present name is Oyster Cove. Here wood and water were found in abundance, and we may suppose that fish, black swans and other birds were obtained in sufficient quantities for the ships' companies. After leaving this convenient anchorage the leader sailed down the the Channel, adding to his chart as he proceeded southward. Then came the joyful discovery that the sheet of water or bay he had been traversing was open to the sea at its southern extremity. Hayes had, in fact, working from its northern entrance, rediscovered the Channel which D'Entrecasteaux had entered and explored, working in the opposite direction. The English sailor now turned and retraced his steps, probably considering that the important "strait" he had found deserved further investigation. He appears to have anchored again in Oyster Cove, and then, continuing his journey northward, sailed round North-West Bay before leaving the Channel. He now entered the Estuary of the Derwent, to him a further notable discovery, and to him, therefore, is due the honour of being the first to take a ship into the waters of that river. As a loyal Cumberland man he felt that he could not do better than call the mountainous country lying to the westward of his course after that English county, just as in selecting a name for the fine river in which the ships presently anchored he thought of and honoured the beautiful river in his homeland district, though for him its lower reaches were a gulf rather than a river. The

A CHART
of
VAN DIEMANS LAND
Soutn Extremity of New Holland
Inscribed to
Sir JOHN SHORE Bart
by his
Most faithful and Obedient Servant
John Hayes

Duke and the *Duchess* found a quiet port for a time at the foot of Mt. Direction, the very place where a few weeks before the French boat, in its exploring expedition, had turned back. A boat journey up the river carried Hayes' investigations a little farther, and he probably reached the point above New Norfolk beyond which not even a boat could proceed.

Such was Hayes' work in Tasmania, and his eye-sketch (Plate 8) gives, perhaps, the best description of it, and fixes its value. The young commander, eager though he was to do and to dare, had neither the training nor experience required for work of the kind, such as that possessed by his friend McCluer, and examination of his plan makes this evident. Thus, when sailing down and then up the Channel he saw and named one opening to which he gave the name Ray Taylor's Bay, but he overlooked the smaller bay, now called Little Taylor's Bay. Similarly, the important openings South Port and Port Esperance escaped his notice entirely. The mouth of the Huon River was observed and sketched in, but its form and direction, considering the close inspection made, are curiously lacking in precision, and the same may be said of Port Cygnet. The inlet called Admiral Dantrecasteaux Bay must have been added to his sketch in Calcutta, when details of the French navigators' work arrived there, for Hayes could not have seen Recherche Bay. On the eastern side of Storm Bay the shape and outline given to Tasman's Peninsula show that " a good eye for country " was not brought to bear on the configuration of this strongly marked and arresting piece of nature's handiwork.

In the selection of names for physical features noted by him Hayes turned chiefly to those of brother officers in the Bombay Marine, or friends of his own in India, or fellow-voyagers. Of special interest is the name Risdon, given to a " creek and river ", running into the Derwent, because it was here, in 1803, that the first settlement in the island was made, when Lieutenant John Bowen, R.N., acting under the orders of Governor King, arrived from Port Jackson and chose this spot as the most suitable site for his establishment. William Risdon, whose surname has thus been perpetuated, was the second officer of the *Duke of Clarence*. William Relph, an officer of the Indian Marine, who was in command of the little *Duchess*, probably made the examination of the shallow inlet now called Ralph's Bay, and it is his name in a distorted form that has been preserved. A curious example of the struggle for existence that a name may have is afforded by the island now officially known as Franklin Island. Originally called Isle de Willaumez by D'Entrecasteaux, who thus honoured the young French officer for his fine boat journey,

it received from Hayes the simple title Betsey's Island, and this homely designation is in popular use to-day. A genial hydrographer of the British Admiralty once scoffed at the idea of changing the name Van Diemen's Land to Tasmania, but it was not his official view that prevailed in 1855, and it remains to be seen if " Betsey's Island " will win through in the end. Some of Hayes' names were sufficiently awkward in form and it was well that they should be dropped. Thus to ensure the identity of some of the friends so honoured, he inserted their initials or Christian names, unnecessary accompaniments in a process demanding strictest simplicity and economy of lettering. When Flinders came on the scene, five years later, young and eager as Hayes had been (Flinders was twenty-four years old at the time), he had his predecessor's sketch in his hands. Working against time and endeavouring to clear up some of the mysteries attaching to a complicated framework of land and water, he did not find the plan very helpful. Commenting afterwards on this experience he wrote :

" We found Risdon Cove and anchored there in 4 fathoms, with the intention of filling our empty watercasks at the *Risdon River* of Mr. Hayes, but finding it to be a little creek which even our boat could not enter I determined to seek a more convenient watering place higher up the Derwent. At the northern foot of the great Mount Table lie *King George's Plains*, a name given by Mr. Hayes to about 300 acres of pasture land, and in the front of the plains is his Prince of Wales Bay, a small shallow cove. Such names as these led us at first into some errors with respect to the importance of the places sought, but after the above examples we were no longer deceived by them."

The remarks made by Hayes concerning his visit to Tasmania, and contained in the two letters already referred to, form but a thin accompaniment to his chart. Still, lacking a fuller account, they are not without interest. The first of the letters was addressed by him, when he arrived at Bouro, to Earl Cornwallis, Governor-General in Bengal, and was dated 10th March 1794. Hayes did not know at that time that Lord Cornwallis had retired from his office in August 1793, and returned to England.

" I arrived at the South part of New Holland the 24th of April, through which I discovered a strait abounding with many fine Harbours. I also found a Gulf which I explored ; on the west side near the head are some fine plains extending to the foot of a large Mountain, these I called King George's Plains, on them I found a variety of beautiful stones, not inferior to any Cornelian, also the White Cockatoo, said by Naturalists only to abound within the Tropics. They lie in Latitude 42° 47′ 30″ South and Longitude 147° 30′ 54″ East of Greenwich. I left this Gulf the 9th June in the morning (when the thermometer was as low as 29°) for New Caledonia. Before I take leave of Terra Australis

I beg leave to observe the large Island that forms the Strait I discovered on the South, has on its East side the Bay called Adventure Bay by Captain Furneaux, and visited by Captains Cook and A. Clerk also. Although these three navigators were expressly sent on Discoveries they left Adventure Bay without knowing it was situated on an Island. Captains Cook and Furneaux assert there is no Strait through Van Diemen's Land, but that it is part of New Holland, however I have been convinced there are several."

In Hayes' second letter, addressed to Sir John Shore, the successor of Earl Cornwallis, and written at Batavia on the 23rd June 1794, his chief theme in connection with Tasmania is the painful incident already referred to. When the voyage was planned a Mr. Robertson had been entrusted with the commercial part of the expedition, and as he had a share in it, and was therefore interested in its success, his position on board the *Duke of Clarence* must have been one of some responsibility. His behaviour, however, was without excuse, in view of the fact that to Lieutenant Hayes had been given sole nautical control of the ships, but it may have appeared to his commercial mind that time spent on exploring straits and rivers might better be devoted to searching for lucrative spices in tropical areas, the real object of the whole adventure.

"I arrived at Van Diemen's Land on 26th April," wrote Hayes, "wherein I discovered a fine Strait containing many good harbours. Here I wooded, watered and refitted, during which time Mr. Robertson committed many daring acts of mutiny, publicly and privately informing the Ship's Company he was owner of the two Vessels, and threatened to stop their wages if they did not take the *Duke of Clarence* where he pleased in defiance of me their Commander. I forbore to proceed to extremities, or to take any notice of his unnatural conduct, until it was daringly murmured amongst the Crew that he was the Owner, had put me in command of the Ship, and could turn me out when he pleased, so far had he warped the minds of the ignorant men from their duty. I was in consequence compelled to confine him, for the safety of the Ship and those lives attached to their duty, to me, and the Service they had engaged in. I left Van Diemen's Land the 9th of June after having made many interesting discoveries, and directed my course towards New Caledonia."

Some six weeks later, when the ships were traversing the south-western coast of New Guinea, this unfortunate supercargo died in confinement. "Conviction compels me to declare", wrote the outspoken Commander, "in him were all the Vices of the vilest of Mankind united." We do not know if the supercargo recorded his view of the situation, but one cannot help comparing the case with that of Captain Dillon, he who first found the relics of La Pérouse. But that story is of much later date in the history of Tasmania.

When he left Tasmania on the 9th of June 1793, Hayes proceeded direct to New Caledonia, and sailed along the outlying barrier reef that protects its south-west coast. More fortunate than D'Entrecasteaux in the weather experienced, he was able during the five days thus spent (28th June to 3rd July) to find "two anchoring places, and those very indifferent ones, the last near the west end". It would therefore appear that he discovered two of the few openings that subsequent surveys have shown to exist in the reef, though it is impossible, lacking his chart, to identify these. Nor does it seem likely that any investigation of the waters between the reef and the mainland was made. There was little time for that. At the second anchorage a remarkable phenomenon, the result of volcanic action accompanied by tidal disturbances, sufficient to shake the composure of the stoutest-hearted seaman, caused Hayes to hurry away without delay.

"The road where we lay", he informed Lord Cornwallis, "I called Directors' Road, in honor of the Hon'ble Court" [of the East India Company]. "On the shore opposite where we lay a large Mountain burnt furiously the Night before we sailed, it agitated the Sea in a most extraordinary manner, the Water retired a great distance from the shore, in the morning we could see innumerable black Rocks above water within us, (*that is, between us and the main land*), which we had not before seen, which determined us to leave this inhospitable Island as soon as possible, being convinced no benefit can be drawn from it. It is one of the most dreary and barren places in the known world, as is the shore the most dangerous, a reef facing its whole extent, distant from the Main land in some places six Leagues, over which the Sea breaks continually and furiously, neither is there any Anchorage."

After leaving New Caledonia, Hayes traversed that part of the southern coast of New Guinea lying to the east of Torres Strait, and, turning back, passed through St. George Channel, between New Britain and New Ireland. Then bearing westward, south of the Admiralty Islands, he made for the northern coast of New Guinea. The ships' companies were now in a desperate condition, for scurvy had already made its appearance among them, and carried off many members of the crews of the ships, composed chiefly of Lascars and Sepoys. Fortunately for the survivors a harbour of refuge was found in an inlet (now called Port Dorey) of the vast gulf named by the Dutch Geelvink Bay, on the north-west coast of New Guinea. The fresh provisions obtained from the natives saved the expedition from complete disaster.

"I ranged the whole east side of New Guinea", reported Hayes in his letter to Lord Cornwallis, "and found a fine Bay whereat I anchored on the 18th September in a state truly distressing, having lost half my Ship's Company by the Scurvy, the remaining part in a dying state

myself not excepted, only two men on Board the *Duke* capable of going aloft, on Board the *Duchess* only six men left capable of doing duty. Had the Ships been detained one month longer at Sea, they would in all probability have been left to the mercy of the Elements, in my opinion none of us would have survived so long, the Salt Provisions and Rice our only food instead of relieving us proved destruction. I remained at this Bay which I called Restoration Bay as we were soon not only restored to health but to apparent affluence, from the richness of the country. I took possession of the whole surrounding Coast on account of His Britannic Majesty and Nation. I am well assured it will be a source of Aggrandisement and Riches to Great Britain if nurtured; surely at least the Convicts will be sent to New Albion (which name I have given to the whole East side of New Guinea) instead of that wretched and unprofitable place Botany Bay."

It is of interest to note that Restoration Bay proved to be much more than a convalescent home for the diseased crews of the two ships, for it was here that the expedition was restored to its true function, and found the nutmegs, spices, barks, and timbers which it had originally gone forth to appropriate to itself. Geelvink Bay and McCluers' Inlet stand opposite to one another in that part of New Guinea, and the good things with which McCluer had whetted the appetite of his friend were to be found also at Restoration Bay. So Hayes stayed on for three months at this happy hunting ground he had happened upon, and then, after annexing the whole country-side for his King, and having put on board his ship as large a quantity of the valuable products of the district as could be collected, he departed for Calcutta. But he left behind him a contingent of the ships' companies, who volunteered to carry on the young colony founded by their leader, with the *Duchess*, now hardly seaworthy, as a guard-ship for the harbour, and a palisaded enclosure as a fortress for the colonists.

In this project, the culminating point of this voyage, Hayes, to judge by his language, must have seen fame and fortune flashing to the skies, but everything depended upon convincing the East India Company that an Eldorado had been found, needing only proper encouragement and development to destroy the monopoly of the Dutch and break their pride. It cost the commander eight weeks of precious time to travel from Restoration Bay to Bouro. Here he found it necessary to pledge the name of the Governor-General in Bengal to obtain necessary supplies from Amboyna, and it was from here that he dispatched the letter dated the 10th March 1794, to Lord Cornwallis that gives us his first account of the voyage. He did not arrive at Batavia till the 18th of June 1794, and it was either here or at Sourabaya, where he had called on his way to Batavia,

and where he had seen the French ships *Recherche* and *Espérance* in the hands of the Dutch, that the first phase of the ill-luck of the voyage made itself manifest. For there can be little doubt that Hayes now learnt that he had been forestalled by the French expedition in Tasmanian waters. The Royalists amongst the French were on good terms with the Dutch, while the latter were at that time well disposed towards the British, and it is therefore little likely that the outlines of D'Entrecasteaux's work were jealously guarded, though the details, not yet prepared for publication, may well have been so.

Whether this blow to his hopes of recognition as an explorer came now or at a later date is immaterial; the Commander's chief concern at the moment was to induce the Hon'ble Company to throw a protective mantle over the young settlement he had formed at Restoration Bay. Thus his second letter descriptive of the voyage, dated 23rd June 1794, and addressed to Sir John Shore, dealt fully with the work that had been initiated in the colony, and touched only lightly on other matters. This dispatch was entrusted to his friend William Relph for delivery to the Governor-General, for Hayes himself was compelled, either for political or business reasons on behalf of the Company, to proceed to Canton. This course, no doubt, suited him well, for, with his ship laden with commodities from Restoration Bay, the Chinese port offered a better market than Calcutta. The voyage ended when the ship at length arrived at Calcutta on the 5th December 1794.

Hayes now experienced the second phase of the tragedy of his expedition. Owing to the successful sales of New Guinea produce in China the voyage had been fairly profitable, but its promoters, and expecially the leader, looked to the Company for recognition and help for the little colony at Restoration Bay. Neither were forthcoming. Sir John Shore carefully considered the proposal, but it was not his policy to involve the Company in adventurous propositions of such a nature. Nor was the time propitious, for the war with France compelled the Company to safeguard its interests and to refrain from adding to its responsibilities. The colony therefore came to an early end. But probably a keener disappointment for Hayes was contained in the Council's refusal to assist him in publishing an account of his voyage, with the accompanying charts. Its offer to take thirty copies of such a book was hardly encouraging for a navigator who believed he possessed the material for a work of great public utility. This inability to publish locally may have led Hayes to forward his records to England, where the chances of publication were better. Their capture by a French man-of-war, if

the author of the *History of the Indian Navy* is correct in his report of their fate, was the final blow which the caprice of fortune, in unkind fashion, dealt this ardent and energetic sailor in connection with his voyage of discovery.

John Hayes' subsequent career in the service of the East India Company was a long and honourable one. As an officer of the Indian Navy he had many opportunities, both at sea and on land, for distinguishing himself in the warfare that formed so great a part of the Company's history for that period. He became Master Attendant at Calcutta in 1809, and received a commission as Commodore in 1811, when he took part in the capture of Java from the Dutch. In 1816 he became Commodore and Senior Officer of the Bombay Marine. "The thanks of Parliament for the gallant conduct of himself, officers, and men, during the Burmese war (1824) and the honour of knighthood conferred on him by his Sovereign, further marks the estimation in which his services have been held." These words are from a Minute in Council published by the Bombay Government soon after the death of Sir John Hayes. In 1831, accompanied by his wife, he left Calcutta for Sydney on a health trip; this proved to be his last voyage. Becoming seriously ill he was landed at the Cocos Islands, and died at the house of his friend Captain Clunies Ross, on 3rd July. A memorial was subsequently erected over his grave by Lady Hayes in the lonely island near where his active career came to its end.

If Hayes' work in Tasmanian waters had neither the quality nor importance which he, in his enthusiasm and eagerness, was fully inclined to ascribe to it, it ought to be remembered that several factors placed high success beyond his control. For him, filled with buoyant hopes, it was indeed tragic that he should have appeared on the scene too late. Had there been no French expedition, with its well-equipped and scientific staff, his simple discovery of the Channel and of the Derwent would have entitled him to some of the honours now belonging to D'Entrecasteaux and his officers. Hayes' expedition was essentially a mercantile project, and exploration not the work for which it was equipped. Neither its leader nor his assistants had been associated with skilled employment of that nature, and its efforts in a field of labour demanding special technical training and experience could not produce results beyond the qualifications of those engaged in the enterprise. Nevertheless, Lieutenant John Hayes, of the Bombay Marine, and his companions, will always be identified with the geographical history of the island because of those names, about a dozen in number, which have continued to cling to the natural features upon which the leader of the party hung them.

CHAPTER XII

MATTHEW FLINDERS AND GEORGE BASS

(1) The Empire and its Sea Routes

IT was reserved for the closing years of the eighteenth century to provide the most remarkable period in the geographical history of Tasmania. Explorers and others had come to the land, as we have seen, and had departed, all making their contributions, more or less important, to knowledge concerning its southern shores, but without attempting to carry out even preliminary surveys of other parts. Thus the country was still accepted as forming part of New Holland, and transports from England continued to sail round the South Cape on their way to Port Jackson. Nevertheless, the idea that a strait existed somewhere south of latitude 39 degrees persisted with some strength, and Captain John Hunter, R.N., was one of those who believed that there was either a very deep gulf or a passage between New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land.

Hitherto we have been reviewing events as they occurred just as if we were watching them from some point in Southern Tasmania, but now it is necessary to transfer our look-out station to Sydney. This is significant, for it shows that what might be called the centre of gravity of the situation had shifted for the time being. In other words Tasmania, after being little more than a vague geographical expression, and with its true form and characteristics comparatively unknown, was now about to become an outlying, if still unsettled, district of the first Australian colony, with the Governor exercising the jurisdiction over it authorized by Phillip's Proclamation of the 7th of February 1788. It will be convenient here to take a rapid glance at the march of those events which, at this time, were moulding the Empire into a more definite but still ever-changing form.

The seventeenth century, and especially the latter half of it, was an era of tremendous importance to the British people in many ways and in many directions. Only some of those affairs affecting their interests through contact with other nations will be touched on here, leaving the internal and social changes which

mark the period so strongly to be dealt with later. The shock caused by the revolt of the American colonies in 1776 was in itself sufficient to shake the hopes and aspirations of a country with oversea possessions and just realizing, even if dimly, as yet, the enormous possibilities of its industrial expansion. War at such a time was a nuisance and a menace, but war had come (1793), and, as the century drew to its end, the clouds grew thick and heavy over the Motherland. Of all those terrible years, 1797 proved the culminating point, and gave the greatest causes for anxiety. "Never in the history of England was there a darker hour." It is true that there were gleams of light to help the island race to carry on. The country that possessed two such industries as the building of ships and the building up of men to fight them could not easily come to destruction, and Drake's Drum sounded, not only along the shores, but sent its stirring signals echoing far inland. The country possessed in William Pitt a Prime Minister resolute and resourceful, who, although at all times a peace-seeker, could remain cool-headed and unperplexed in the midst of the complete disarray of his policy, and a series of naval victories once again established British Sea Power, the force by which alone the Empire can maintain communication between its component parts.

Of the two steps that had been taken in order to secure the main sea-route to India (in each of which Australia had its stake as an interested party), one only was successful. In 1652, the Dutch East India Company, seeing the advantages of its position, established itself at Cape Town. Little progress was made by the colony, owing to the Company's policy of regarding it as a preserve of its own, but, in times of peace, Table Bay was used by all nations as a port of call, and we have already seen how Captain Cook and other navigators sailing to the southern seas made use of Cape Town, that "Tavern-by-the-Sea", as a convenient final store-depot upon which to draw, before pressing onward into the uncivilized parts where their work lay.

Toward the end of 1795 a British force landed at the Cape, and, after meeting with some resistance from the local soldiery, assumed control of the Dutch colony. The effect of the capture was to ensure, during the eight years the colony was thus occupied, a safe and certain half-way port of call for British commerce with the East and with Australia, as well as a much-needed station for the naval forces required to protect the ships carrying it on. Cape Colony was handed back to the Dutch in 1803 under the Peace Treaty of Amiens. However, in 1806, this valuable territory fell again into the hands of the British, and finally, in 1814, was ceded by Holland to the British Crown.

When the Portuguese discovered Mauritius, about 1505, they failed to recognize its commercial value, and even the more practical Dutch, who took possession of the island in 1598, made no permanent settlement there till 1638. It was at Grand Port (then called Port Sud Est), on the east coast of the island, that Abel Tasman finally refitted for his great voyage of discovery, a harbour he expressed himself as being well pleased to quit. The Dutch abandoned the island in 1712, and three years later the French, with true foresight, took possession, and in 1721 its administration came into the hands of the French East India Company.

The names of two French administrators stand out in the annals of the island : Mahé de la Bourdonnais and Pierre Poivre. The former (1735–1746), in the face of many difficulties and much opposition, managed to bring it into a prosperous condition. After his departure the island suffered from a period of decay until the arrival of Poivre (1767–1772), who, by his high character, knowledge and example, instilled new energy into the islanders, and made the colony self-supporting with regard to food. It was Poivre, always enthusiastic when the collection of economic plants appeared possible, who in 1771 made it easy for Marion du Fresne to enter upon his voyage to southern seas, in which he came to so sad an end in New Zealand. A Botanical Garden, formed by Poivre at his own expense, became famous in the East as being all that so useful an institution should be.

The British Government well recognized the constant threat to Empire commerce that occupation of the island by French forces supported, but only one attempt on a grand scale to seize the place was made. In 1747 a large fleet, under the command of Admiral Boscawen, was sent from England with a twofold object, the capture of Mauritius and the reduction of Pondicherry. The effort against the island was not pushed home, and this powerful force passed on to strike at Pondicherry, where again it met with failure. After this it seems to have been accepted that, owing to the nature of the island coasts, backed up by the military defences, a landing in force could not be effected. The policy that was then followed consisted of actions against the enemy's warships, a method which met with as many reverses as successes. In 1787 Bruny D'Entrecasteaux arrived in the island to serve a term of two years as Governor-General of the Colony. A blockade, instituted by the British in 1794, failed completely in its object.

The Amiens Peace Treaty of 1802 afforded Napoleon a sort of " half-time " breathing space in which to prepare the way for his designs against India. In 1803 he sent a strong naval force

under Admiral Linois to the East, and appointed General De Caen, a favourite of his own, and one in whom he had great confidence, to take over the government of the Isles of France and Bourbon. To De Caen he held out visions of acquiring great glory in some grandiose scheme in which the whole of the East should fall under French dominion. De Caen's "glory" was destined to be of another kind. When war broke out again "according to plan" the new French naval force waged an incessant warfare against its enemy. To this period belongs the story, "which every schoolboy knows", of Captain Dance, merchant captain, who, in command of the China fleet of merchantmen, by superior tactics frustrated the design of Linois to capture the British ships, and brought them in triumph to England, receiving a knighthood for his brilliant feat.

It was in such a period of danger and change as the rapid survey we have taken of events affecting the Empire near the end of the eighteenth and in the early years of the new century presents to our view, that the days drew near for Tasmania to emerge from a chrysalis state. It happened that to Sydney, so far removed from the centre of the Empire that it seemed occasionally to get forgotten in the tumult of the times and left to take care of itself, there came in 1795 two young men who saw before them work for their country that needed to be done, and went forward and did it. Neither was specially called upon by his chief to act as an explorer, but there was in each a vital something that showed him where he should go and impelled him to find opportunities to satisfy his desires. These men were Matthew Flinders and George Bass, and their presence in Australia was indicative of the impulse urging them both to seek out unknown places and chart them.

(2) Flinders, Bass, and Hunter

Matthew Flinders was born on the 16th of March 1774, at Donington, a small town near Boston, in Lincolnshire, and less than ten miles from the shores of The Wash. His father, Matthew Flinders, and his grandfather, John Flinders, practised as surgeons, and were held in high esteem in the neighbourhood. His parents intended that the boy should follow in the footsteps of his father, and he was sent first to a school in the town, and later, at the age of twelve, to a grammar school at Horbling, in the same county, where he remained three years, acquiring some knowledge of Latin and Greek in addition to other subjects. The time having arrived for Flinders' medical studies to begin, the design of his parents regarding their son's career was subjected to a severe shock, for he now made up his mind that the sea and

not medicine was sounding the call that he must follow. A friend of his has put on record Flinders' crisp description of the settled state of his mind at this period, "Induced to go to sea against the wish of friends from reading *Robinson Crusoe*", and there is other evidence to show that Defoe's wonderful book, beloved by boys, did point out where his future must lie. Adventure without stint, success, sorrow and injustice, but success in glorious measure, were to be his, before the course he then chose came to its sorely hastened end.

Having come to a decision about his future occupation, Flinders set to work in methodical fashion to prepare the way. It so happened that his father's brother, John, was in the Navy, and an appeal was made to him for advice. This was readily given, but it was not encouraging. There was little chance of success in the Navy, he wrote, he had himself served eleven years and had little hope of obtaining a lieutenant's commission. It should be noted that in those days the ordinary course for a lad entering the Navy and wishing to become an officer was for him to obtain, with the help of a friend, inclusion in the muster-book of a King's ship, in which he might be set down as a captain's or a lieutenant's servant, his duties at this time consisting, not in personal attendance on an officer, but in learning the rudiments of his profession. After gaining some experience he would be entered as an A.B. (able-bodied seaman), or even as a midshipman, interest, and perhaps favouritism, entering into the procedure in most cases. Nelson himself had to wait seven years for his commission.

Flinders' uncle, however, in his letter of warning to his nephew, named the best books for studying trigonometry and navigation, and that sufficed. A year of hard study, without assistance from any master, then followed, and those who have attended such a school never forget the grim lessons it teaches. The next step was to find a helping hand to secure him a place on the roll of a ship. Fortunately a cousin was at that time governess in the family of Captain Pasley (afterwards Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley), and she was able to interest that officer in her young relative's case. In an interview that followed, Captain Pasley, himself an exceptionally able man, recognized that he was dealing with no ordinary youth, the result being that Flinders gained his wish, and on the 23rd October 1789 was placed on board the *Alert*, being entered in the muster-book as "Lieutenant's Servant". Seven months later he became an A.B. on the *Scipio*, and in July 1790 he entered the *Bellerophon* as a midshipman, that ship being under the command of his good friend, Captain Pasley.

The following year there came the great opportunity, "the tide in his affairs" that led to fame and probably altered the whole outlook of his life. This was his appointment as a midshipman to the *Providence*, on Captain Bligh's second expedition to Tahiti (Chapter VII), which gave him the chance to live in reality some of the dreams that had filled his mind in boyhood. It is probable that Captain Pasley obtained for him this appointment, and it is known that he approved of it, thinking, no doubt, that the lad was fortunate in being able to make a voyage under such a sailor as Bligh, who was at the time in high repute, owing to his famous boat journey and the hardships he had undergone at the hands of the mutineers of the *Bounty*. Captain Pasley, it should be mentioned, was the uncle of the young man Peter Heywood, whose sad experience has already been touched upon in these pages; it is doubtful if Flinders' patron would have been so willing that he should take part in the new voyage to Tahiti had he himself possessed the fuller knowledge concerning the mutiny that came in the following year, when the trial of the mutineers took place. As it proved, Flinders could hardly have been better placed, for Bligh's qualities as a navigator have never been questioned. Cook had found him an apt and most helpful pupil, and Flinders himself later bore witness to his ability. Bligh, in fact, passed on much of Cook's teaching to Flinders, who, in one respect, surpassed that great master, for he was a specially gifted marine surveyor and cartographer. Throughout life nature's gifts were to him so many spaces for intensive cultivation. A friend of Flinders, who wrote a biographical memoir in 1814, said that:

"In this voyage he proved a useful auxiliary to Captain Bligh, for he was ever ready to assist in the construction of his charts and in astronomical observations: indeed, although still but a very juvenile navigator, the latter branch of scientific service and the care of the time-keepers were principally entrusted to him."

The *Providence* and the *Assistant*, having completed their mission, arrived in England in August, 1793, and in September of that year Flinders went back to his old ship, the *Bellerophon*, where he was welcomed by his former chief, Captain Pasley, who was promoted soon after to be Commodore in the Channel Fleet under Lord Howe, then engaged against the naval forces of the French Republic. The eleven months that followed covered the only war service that Flinders experienced during his career, but this included one great naval battle, known as the Glorious First of June,—the first of that grand series of such events that culminated in Trafalgar,—when Lord Howe, in 1794,

engaged the French forces and gained a decisive victory over their warships. The *Bellerophon* was in the thick of this fight, and one little incident needs to be told, for it well illustrates Flinders' character. When the British ships were breaking through the French line the guns of the *Bellerophon* could be brought to bear on three enemy ships; some of the guns on the quarter-deck were left for a time by the men serving them, who were called away to trim the sails for the purposes of the manœuvre. At the moment his ship was passing under the stern of a French three-decker, Flinders, who was acting during the fight as aide-de-camp to the Commodore, knowing that those guns were loaded and primed, and aware that general orders had been given to continue firing as fast as possible, seized a lighted match and fired as many of the guns as would bear on the adversary. This action was observed by Commodore Pasley, who doubtless thought that his aide-de-camp should be attending closely to him, for he shook him violently by the collar and sternly said, "How dare you do this, youngster, without my orders?" Flinders' reply "that he did not know, but he thought it a fine chance to have a shot at 'em", disclosed the mainspring of his actions in life. When he saw "fine chances" he seized them, prepared to accept personal risks where the interests of his country were involved.

Soon after the naval battle of the 1st of June, Flinders reached what was, for him, a parting of the ways, and it was easy for him to decide upon the true path to follow. He might have remained in Europe and accepted the chances that the service offered, but, on the other hand, the fascination of the unknown beckoned him on to a wider sphere. As he himself wrote, "he was led on by his passion for exploring new countries to embrace the opportunity of going out upon a station which of all others presented the most ample field for his favourite pursuit." He thus came into close association with George Bass, Captain John Hunter and Henry Waterhouse, and formed one of a singularly happy combination of forces, for each of them in his own way contributed, during four years of united effort, to clear away much of the ignorance, the somewhat shameful ignorance, that still existed concerning Australian coastal lines.

If for Matthew Flinders those four years—easily the most important years in the geographical history of Tasmania—were but the second phase of his career, and a time of preparation leading to his highest level of attainment, for his firm friend and fellow-worker, George Bass, they furnished the "one crowded hour" of a short but highly distinguished official service. Viewing his work with a fuller appreciation of its value than his con-

temporaries attributed to it, Australians do not fail to do full honour to his memory. Bass came, meteor-like, from out the turmoil of his time, shone brightly, as it were, and even blazed in wondrous fashion during his short hour, and then faded into the shadows of the unknown, but every good map of the world to-day records his passing.

George Bass was the son of a farmer, and was born about 1763 at Aswarby, near Sleaford in Lincolnshire. Like Flinders, he showed from boyhood a strong inclination towards a seafaring life, but when his father died the widow moved to Boston in order that her son, an only child, might be trained as a surgeon. Mrs. Bass, who has been described as "a fine noble-minded woman, of no ordinary intellect", was much opposed to her son's schemes regarding his future, but there seems to have been a sort of mutual agreement that, if he first carried out her wishes and still wished to go to sea, she would do her best to help him. There was a strong and enduring bond of union between mother and son, and Bass loyally fulfilled his part of the engagement. He was apprenticed to a surgeon in Boston, walked the hospital there in the usual manner, and eventually gained his diploma as a surgeon with the honours that were the reward of his industry. Even now the call of the sea was in his ears, and to carry out her bargain Mrs. Bass fitted him out and purchased for him a share in a trading vessel. This venture proved to be a failure, for the ship was wrecked, and Bass was compelled to look elsewhere for employment. He then entered the Navy, and was appointed surgeon to the *Reliance*, the ship commissioned to carry Captain John Hunter to New South Wales, after his appointment as Governor of the Colony.

When Governor Arthur Phillip, R.N., sailed from Sydney on the 11th December 1792, and "quitted the charge with which he had been intrusted by his Sovereign", after nearly five years of enormous strain and constant labour, he left as Lieutenant-Governor Major Francis Grose, of the New South Wales Corps. This officer acted in that capacity till the 16th December 1794, on which date he departed for England, and the direction of the Colony devolved upon Captain William Paterson, also of the New South Wales Corps, who held office till the arrival of the new Governor. During the rule of these three officers nothing occurred, after the Proclamation of Phillip in 1788, that brought Tasmania into direct association with the settlement on the mainland. Expeditions, as we have seen, came to the southern part of the island and passed on, but neither directly nor indirectly were they connected with New South Wales. David Collins, Judge Advocate and Secretary of that Colony, who afterwards

(1804) became the first Lieutenant-Governor in the island, in his work, *An Account of the English Colony of New South Wales*, does, indeed, give one little incident, which may be mentioned here. On Monday, the 1st August 1791, the *Matilda*, the first of the expected fleet of transports, arrived, after an extraordinary passage of four months and five days from Portsmouth. The master of this ship anchored for two days in a bay of one of the Schoeten's Islands, distant from the mainland about twelve miles, in the latitude of 42° 15′ south, where, according to his report, five or six ships might find shelter. Those who were on shore saw the footsteps of different kinds of animals and traces of natives, such as huts, fires, broken spears and the instrument which they use for throwing the spear. They spoke of the soil as sandy, and observed that "the ground was covered with shrubs resembling those found at Sydney". It seems probable that the *Matilda* anchored in what was afterwards called Thouin or Wine Glass Bay, on Freycinet Peninsula, but the item of chief interest in Collins' narrative is the reference to the throwing-sticks of the natives.

The story of the directorship of Phillip, wise, strong and beneficent, belongs to the history of New South Wales, and has no direct connection with that of Tasmania. The governance of Grose, on the other hand, arbitrary, selfish and short-sighted, and that of his weak and easy-going follower, Paterson, sowed the seeds of trouble that were to have their harvest of blighted and corrupting fruit, affecting the healthy development, not only of Port Jackson, but, in later years, of the struggling settlement on the banks of the Derwent.

Governor Phillip, on his return to England in 1793, was a tired man, and felt himself no longer fit to cope with the hard labour demanded from the occupant of so responsible a post as his. He therefore applied to the British Government for permission to retire, and this request was granted. When Captain Hunter heard of the vacancy thus created he wrote to Henry Dundas, who was then administering colonial affairs in Pitt's Ministry, and applied for the position. This petition, supported by Lord Howe, to whose friendly help in his naval career Hunter owed much, was successful, and he received the appointment in February 1794. It was not, however, till February in the following year that the *Reliance*, with her tender, the *Supply*, sailed for New South Wales, where they were to be retained for colonial service.

Hunter's career as a sailor had been a long and arduous one. The son of the captain of a merchant ship, he was born at Leith in August 1738, and received a good education until his sixteenth

year, when he entered the Navy as a "captain's servant". Having been advised by a friendly midshipman to learn navigation, he set to work on the rudiments of that science, and this was the beginning of study and self-instruction, not only in that subject and practical astronomy, but in nautical surveying and the drawing of views on sea and land. It was not long before his progress in seamanship attracted attention. Called aft from his work aloft one day, his Captain asked him if he had any better clothes than the working garments he was then wearing. Hunter replied that he had others. "Then go and change," said the Captain, "in future you will serve as a midshipman." Hunter passed his examination as a lieutenant in 1760, and became a master in 1767, but it was not until 1780 that the much-coveted lieutenant's commission came to him. In the interval he had secured two valuable assets, each well calculated to advance his professional interests. He had carried out some useful marine surveys on the North American coast, in connection with operations against the revolting colonies, and he had succeeded in gaining the friendship of several influential officers, including Lord Howe and Captain Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent. After 1780 his promotion was rapid, and when Governor Phillip left England for Australia with the First Fleet in May 1787, John Hunter, advanced from the rank of Commander in the Navy by the influence of Lord Howe, accompanied him as second captain of the *Sirius*, with the rank of post-captain, the intention being that he should command the ship when engaged on colonial service. This arrangement lasted till March 1790, when the ship was unfortunately wrecked at Norfolk Island, and Phillip was compelled to hire a small Dutch vessel to send Hunter, with his officers and crew, back to England. It was during this protracted and costly voyage in the sluggish Dutch *Snow* that the absurd rumour connecting La Pérouse with the Admiralty Islands grew and spread abroad, leading D'Entrecasteaux so far astray, as told in Chapter X.

The wreck of the *Sirius* did not bring about any check in Hunter's career, for at the inquiry concerning its cause, held by the Admiralty, her captain and his officers were honourably acquitted, and Lord Howe received his former lieutenant on board his flagship, the *Queen Charlotte*, as a volunteer captain. It was in some such capacity that the Governor-Elect took part in the battle of the 1st of June 1794. When the *Reliance* was being commissioned Hunter remembered a former junior officer of his own. This was Henry Waterhouse, who had served under him in the *Sirius*, and was now fifth lieutenant of the *Bellerophon*. He requested that Waterhouse might be promoted to the

command of the *Reliance* to serve as second captain under himself on the voyage out, and then, as he had done in the *Sirius*, to take full command of the *Reliance*, when engaged in the colonial service. This petition was agreed to, and it was probably owing to the appointment of Waterhouse that the opportunity came to Matthew Flinders to go out to the distant station where chances for exploring new countries would not be wanting. It may be that the influence of Captain Pasley was helpful in this new move. That gallant officer, whose loss of a leg in the battle of 1st June by no means finished his naval career, must have seen that there could be no better opening for his young protégé. Flinders was appointed to the *Reliance* in August 1794, as Master's Mate, and it was doubtless owing to his influence that his young brother, Samuel Ward Flinders, was received on board the same ship as a volunteer.

On the voyage out to Australia, notwithstanding the difference in their ages, a strong and enduring friendship was formed between Flinders, now twenty-one years old, and Bass, who still retained, in spite of his thirty-two years, the enthusiasm and sanguine hopes of a younger man. In later years Flinders, referring to their association, wrote :

"In Mr. George Bass I had the happiness to find a man whose ardour for discovery was not to be repressed by any obstacles, nor deterred by danger ; and with this friend a determination was formed of completing the examination of the east coast of New South Wales, by all such opportunities as the duty of the ship, and procurable means, could admit."

From the father-in-law of Bass there have come to us a few words concerning his personal appearance : "Six feet high ; a dark complexion ; wears spectacles ; a very penetrating countenance." Flinders, too, was struck by that piercing look in his colleague's face, but there were other affinities between the two men. Both came from the same district in England, the Fen country, and there is reason to believe that there was some kinship, though a distant one, between their two families. All these things combined to bring together two remarkable men, whose names head the list of those who have contributed to make the geographical history of Tasmania.

(3) Preliminary Efforts

The *Reliance* and the *Supply* arrived at Sydney on 27th September 1795. On the voyage Hunter avoided the Cape, making Rio de Janeiro his last port of call. He was afraid that "the French might have been active enough to make an early

attack on that very important post". He recognized that the possession of the Cape by the French would be a menace to New South Wales, and it relieved his mind later to hear of its capture by British forces, which had taken place about the time he was taking over charge at Port Jackson.

Flinders and Bass were not long in finding some pioneering work that needed to be done, for in the month following their arrival they made their first effort in a boat appropriately named *Tom Thumb*. This little cockle-shell, which had been taken out in the *Reliance* by Bass and others, was about eight feet long, with a beam of five feet, and it is not surprising that an excursion which seemed so rash and unwise should have had some obstacles placed in its way. " Projects of this nature," wrote Flinders, " when originating in the minds of young men, are usually termed romantic, and so far from any good being anticipated, even prudence and friendship join in discouraging if not opposing them." However, the two gamblers, who must have received official sanction and leave of absence, and feeling, no doubt, quite sure of themselves, put to sea, with a boy as crew, proceeded down the coast to Botany Bay, and ascended George's River, exploring its course for some twenty miles beyond the point reached in an earlier survey. The sketch of this river and the accompanying report on the adjoining country resulted in a visit being made to the district by Hunter, who established a settlement there, to which the name Banks' Town was given. One other result followed from the voyage of the *Tom Thumb*. It proved to the Governor that he had on his staff two officers of the right quality for excursions of such a nature. On 25th November 1795, he was able to promote Flinders to be acting second-lieutenant of the *Reliance*.

The next venture took place in March 1796 ; it lasted nine days and carried the explorers a little farther afield. Their boat was a second edition of the original *Tom Thumb*, built locally, and their objective was Port Hacking, a little south of Botany Bay, but when they left Sydney Harbour and got out into the open ocean a strong current carried them well down the coast to the Illawarra district. An interview with a number of natives on the third day was only brought to a friendly termination by the tact of Flinders, who diverted their attention by clipping their beards with scissors, whilst the gunpowder, which had been wetted by the boat being driven ashore and swamped on the previous day, was dried in the sun. The little party was glad to get afloat again. But a greater danger soon threatened to bring the expedition to an untimely end. Three nights had been spent in the cramped space afforded by the dinghy, and the

fourth was passed on a sandy beach. "It was to us a bed of down", said Flinders. The fifth night, when at anchor under a cliff, a stiff southerly breeze came up, which freshened to a gale, and it became necessary to run before it, the booming of the surf heard in the dark directing the course to be followed. It was a trying experience; Bass held the sheet of the sail in hand to haul in or slacken as required, the boy bailed incessantly, and Flinders, with a steering oar, kept the tiny craft from the broaching-to which meant destruction. After an hour of this strain a break in the cliff was observed, and there came a moment for quick decision; it was seized by Flinders, who knew that the boat could not live much longer under the conditions. The mast and sail were taken down and the oars got out.

"Pulling towards the reef during the intervals of the heaviest seas, we found it terminate in a point and in three minutes were in smooth water under its lee. So sudden a change from extreme danger to comparatively perfect safety excited reflections which kept us some time awake. We thought Providential Cove a well adapted name for the place; by the natives, as we afterwards learned, it is called Watta-Mowlee."

This is now Wattamolla in the National Park, south of Sydney. On the following day Port Hacking was reached; an examination of this opening was carried out and soundings of the entrance taken, before the run home to Port Jackson was made. By no better means than a pocket compass and computed distances Flinders was able to furnish a useful addition to knowledge then in hand concerning some thirty-five miles of the seashore and the coast land south of Botany Bay.

The bad condition of the *Reliance* and the *Supply* was a matter of grave concern to Hunter, because both were needed for colonial service, such as the carriage of stores and live stock, and the transport of officers to and from Norfolk Island. Neither of the vessels was of good construction, the *Reliance* from her design, and the *Supply* on account of the timber used when she was built. Repairs therefore had to be constantly undertaken, and these made a heavy call on Flinders' time, when he would have preferred to be away making the independent cruises his heart desired. Bass was not so tied down to the ship as his friend, and in June 1796 turned his eyes towards another purpose. This was no less than an attempt "to round" the mountains to the westward of the settlement. He set off with two companions, succeeded in reaching the top of a high range commanding a view farther to the westward, and from there sighted another range over forty miles beyond, stretching away to the north and to the south.

The party was compelled to return ; the time had not yet come for the Blue Mountains to yield the secret of a passage to the bountiful country lying beyond them, but Bass was able to report that he had passed over some very fine land during his journey.

The ships were ready for sea by the end of September 1796, and sailed to the Cape by way of Cape Horn. To judge by Hunter's remarks in an official dispatch concerning their state he may well have had his doubts as to their safe return :

"We have given both of them very considerable repairs since they have been here, but the defect of the *Supply*, whose commander will not complain whilst he can make her swim, is of such a nature as we cannot repair. The *Reliance* is so extremely weak in her whole frame that it is, in our situation, a difficult matter to do what is necessary."

Nevertheless, thanks to the skill of their able commanders, they did succeed in returning, laden with live stock (horses, sheep and cattle) for the requirements of the colony. The *Supply*, under Lieutenant William Kent, in spite of its decrepit condition, managed " to swim " first, arriving on the 16th May 1797, and was at once condemned as incapable of being repaired. Captain Waterhouse, who brought his ship to port on 26th June, wrote to his father that the passage was one of the longest and most disagreeable he had ever made, and that in one gale, the most terrible he ever saw, they quite expected to go to the bottom. His opinion about the state of the ship was that it would take a year to patch her up, and then he would dread going to sea in her. Waterhouse underestimated the time that would be required for repairs, but the long interval gave Flinders and Bass the opportunities that suited them. While the *Reliance* was lying at the Cape in January 1797, Flinders passed his lieutenant's examination, and his appointment as second-lieutenant in that ship was confirmed by the Admiralty. If his promotion to commissioned rank was so far satisfactory, it must have been equally pleasing to him that his sea service and experiences at this time were providing good training for the time to come, if his hopes were to be fulfilled.

While the *Reliance* and *Supply* were away from Sydney, circumnavigating the southern hemisphere for the purpose of adding to the flocks and herds of the colony, a disaster occurred —the first known wreck on the coasts of Tasmania—which had no little influence in directing attention to a still unknown and unexplored region, the islands and the waters surrounding them, the fringe of which Furneaux had glanced at with indifferent eye (Plate 4) as he passed by on his way to New Zealand. As early

as 1789, when on a voyage from the Cape, Captain Hunter had noted certain effects of tides and currents in that region, and pondering over their meaning had endeavoured to arrive at an explanation of the problem they offered, coming to the conclusion that there was either a very deep gulf or a strait between Van Diemen's Land and New Holland. The disaster referred to not only directed attention to this region : it may be said to have led up to the solution of the whole problem concerning it, owing to the powerful searchlights presently thrown on its hidden secrets.

On the 4th of February 1797, the *Sydney Cove*, a merchant ship laden with goods for sale at Sydney, passed Maria Island, on the east coast of Tasmania, in a leaking condition. She had left Calcutta in the previous November, and owing to bad weather in the Indian Ocean and the constant efforts required to keep the in-coming water under control, the ship's company was in a state of exhaustion. Unhappily a fresh gale, which became a hurricane, was met with off the north-east coast of Tasmania, and her master, Captain Hamilton, to save the lives of his people, made for land and succeeded in keeping her afloat until he brought her into shallow water off Preservation Island, near the south-west corner of Cape Barren Island (Sec. I, Plate 10). Sydney being the only port where assistance could be obtained, the longboat was equipped and sent off under the charge of the chief mate, the others being the supercargo, Clarke, three European seamen and twelve lascars. The ill-luck of the ship accompanied the boat-party, which was flung ashore near Cape Everard (the Point Hicks of Captain Cook), west of Ram Head. Nothing remained for the stranded sailormen but a long and wearisome struggle along the seashore to Sydney. It was an appalling journey, and towards the end most of the party dropped out and perished. Of the numerous natives met with some were friendly, supplying them with food, chiefly shell and ordinary fish, while others, hostile and obstructive, were responsible for the deaths of the straggling travellers. At length, nine weeks after they had been cast ashore, three survivors, scarcely alive, the supercargo, a seaman and a lascar, were taken on board a fishing-boat about fifteen miles south of Botany Bay and carried to Sydney. As soon as possible Governor Hunter sent off the colonial schooner *Francis*, and a small sloop of about ten tons, the latter under the charge of Archibald Armstrong, the master of the *Supply*, to bring away the captain and the rest of the crew of the *Sydney Cove*, together with any cargo that had been saved. Early in July the *Francis* returned, bringing back Captain Hamilton and part of his crew,

but the sloop, which had left Preservation Island in company with the schooner, became separated from her in a violent storm and was never heard of again. Armstrong's name was given to the channel between Barren Island and the island called after Clarke, the supercargo of the *Sydney Cove*. Captain Hamilton left six of his men in charge of that part of the property that had been salved from his ship, and for which there was no room in the schooner and the sloop. In December the *Francis* paid a second visit to the wreck. Flinders was anxious to embrace such an opportunity for engaging in some exploration work, but his duties in connection with the extensive repairs of the *Reliance* prevented this.

When Clarke reached Sydney after his terrible journey along the coast, he reported to the Governor that two days before he was rescued by the fishing-boat he had come across coal near the shore. Hunter thought this discovery well worth investigating, and accordingly in August sent a whale-boat to the spot indicated, and deputed Bass to examine the country. This useful little preliminary survey of the southern coal-field of New South Wales was carried out by Bass in his thorough manner. His next expedition carried him inland once more. In September he took part in an excursion to the fine area of grazing land known as the Cow-pasture Plains, on the Nepean River, where some cattle, which had wandered away in the earlier days of the settlement, had run wild and, by natural increase, developed into a valuable herd. Flinders wrote some comments on his colleague's efforts: "My friend Bass made several excursions into the interior parts behind Port Jackson, with a view to pass over the back mountains, and ascertain the nature of the country beyond. His success was not commensurate to the perseverance and labour employed." Flinders himself, to use a sporting simile, was straining like a hound held in leash, only awaiting the moment when he might be free to launch himself forward in pursuit of his natural prey. The time for Bass's great course had already arrived.

(4) The Discovery of Bass Strait, 1797–1798

Perhaps no better words could be found to describe the manner in which George Bass made his proposals for a lengthy boat journey than those used by Governor Hunter in his official reports on the event. To the Duke of Portland, who had succeeded Henry Dundas as Administrator of the Colonies, he wrote:

"The tedious repairs which his Majesty's Ship *Reliance* necessarily required before she could be put in a condition for going again to sea

having given an opportunity to Mr. George Bass, her surgeon, a young man of a well-informed mind and an active disposition, to offer himself to be employed in any way in which he could contribute to the benefit of the public service, I enquired of him in what way he was desirous of exerting himself, and he informed me nothing could gratify him more effectually than my allowing him the use of a good boat and permitting him to man her with volunteers from the King's ships. I accordingly furnished him with an excellent whaleboat, well fitted, victualled and manned to his wish, for the purpose of examining along the coast to the southward of this port, as far as he could with safety and convenience go."

Hunter's account, confirmed as it was by his own actions, shows how anxious the Governor was to promote such schemes. He was, in fact, ready at all times to do everything possible to push forward geographical research in the territory under his rule. Hunter has been blamed, somewhat unjustly, for the failure of his internal administration of the settlement, but in external matters, those in which his expert knowledge as a sailor and a nautical surveyor were involved, his success is clear, and this is due to the help so willingly given by him to praiseworthy effort. "In December 1797", wrote Flinders, "Mr. Bass obtained leave to make an expedition to the southward, and he was furnished with a fine whale-boat and six weeks' provisions by the Governor, and a crew of six seamen from the ships."

Bass and his companions began the voyage which was to have such important results on the 2nd of December, and pulling out between Sydney Heads, leaving the security of the harbour behind them, they knew how much depended upon the weather met with, and upon their ability to find shelter for their small craft when, as was inevitable, adverse winds and heavy seas opposed their progress. Perhaps it may have seemed a strange thing to some of the sailors that they were embarking under a leader who was not a professional seaman, but Bass had not spent years afloat merely attending to his legitimate business as a surgeon ; he had acquired a good working knowledge of navigation and seamanship, and was moreover gifted with a faculty for observing the innumerable signs, such as changes in weather, tides, currents and depths of water, which the master of any sea craft constantly has to note for the safety of his vessel and and its crew. There can be no doubt that Bass at this time had an established reputation in the *Reliance* as a true mariner, and that the men under him had full confidence in his ability, given a fair share of luck, to carry the venture through to a successful finish. Bass, on his part, required men who could be thoroughly relied on under all conditions, and their selection, probably conducted by Water-

house, seems to have been a good one. If there were any failures they were not reported.

If mutual confidence between commander and men was necessary, the former also needed, and no doubt possessed, a full measure of confidence in himself, for he had taken on a very big task. He had Cook's chart of the coast to the south, from Sydney to Point Hicks, a distance of about 300 miles, but this was naturally lacking in many details of bays and openings that would be so useful in time of need to a small open boat making an ocean trip. To this chart few additions had been made since the great navigator first laid it down. The first forty miles, traversed with Flinders in the *Tom Thumb*, were familiar ground to Bass, but after that the survey of the coast to Point Hicks would call for close inspection, to provide the useful filling-in which the progress of the colony demanded. After Point Hicks there was the unknown to be faced, and that was the real objective of Bass's undertaking—the sealed book he was determined from the outset to force open.

The run from Sydney to Cape Howe occupied eighteen days, and in that time every opening in the coast was noted and to some extent examined, while the country lying behind the shores was described. For instance, Bass's report on the characteristics of the Shoal Haven district, where he found " many thousand acres of open ground which never can be overflowed, whose soil is a rich vegetable mould ", pointed out the possibilities of a tract of country which has since become famous for its fertility, though its shrewd discoverer did not fail to direct attention to the difficulty of shipping of produce, owing to lack of harbours. " A nursery of cattle might perhaps be carried on here with advantage, and that sort of produce ships off itself." Jervis Bay, which had been entered and to some extent investigated after Cook's time, though noted by him as he passed by, now called for and received a stricter scrutiny, but Bass's most important " find " was Twofold Bay, which seemed to him capable of affording security for shipping. Only a few hours were spent here, as a fair wind sprang up, and he was too anxious to attack the main part of his scheme to lose time on a minor affair. Twofold Bay was therefore left behind for examination when returning to Sydney.

Bass had fairly favourable weather on the run south to Cape Howe, and as far as Ram Head (Plate 9), but he now met with a set-back in the shape of a south-west gale. He had landed in a little bight near Ram Head (Wingan Inlet) to obtain water, being afraid, from the sandy and barren appearance of the coast, that there might easily be a shortage of it as he proceeded farther west. Luckily he was able to find excellent water, draining out

of the high sand-hills into the sea. The gale lasted ten days, which must have been felt by all hands as a sad waste of precious time, especially as the country inland was utterly lacking in any features of interest to be explored. The boat was able to put to sea again on the last day of the year, and sailed westward along the coast with a good fair wind, Point Hicks, not a conspicuous landmark, being passed unnoticed. Running along the Ninety-Mile Beach, where many large smokes were seen arising behind the shore, Wilson's Promontory came into view far ahead on the morning of 1st January, and that evening the boat came to anchor at an island off its southern extremity. "Vast numbers of petrels, gulls and other birds were roosting upon it, and on the rocks were many seals with a remarkably long tapering neck and sharp pointed head." With a very strong breeze blowing from the north-east on the morning of the 2nd, Bass was afraid that it would be impossible to beat up to the mainland, and he therefore thought it advisable, under these circumstances, to take a south-easterly course and make for the islands lying to the north of Tasmania. Later on a change of wind made it necessary to steer south, his intention then being to run along the coast when he came in view of it, and direct his course for the wreck of the *Sydney Cove*, to obtain from it, if possible, a supply of rice.

It is necessary to examine Plate 9 to appreciate the dangerous position of the boat, now about half-way between Tasmania and the mainland, when a leak was observed on its water-line. The boat had been strained in the heavy seas met with during the last few days, and there was the chance of a plank starting. The best course therefore under these new conditions, and with a freshening wind, was to return to the mainland, and by careful handling "our enterprising discoverer", as Flinders called him, when describing this perilous experience, succeeded on the evening of the 3rd January in reaching a sheltered spot on the western side of the Promontory in which to anchor. It was while hunting for this refuge that Bass made a discovery of a very unexpected kind, yielding a grim and tragic tale of the sea which, for some unknown reason, he did not choose to mention in his journal. As he was approaching a small island lying off the Promontory he noticed a fire on it, and some human beings, whom he took to be natives. On rowing nearer he found to his surprise that they were a party of seven convicts, chiefly Irish, the victims of the treachery of their companions, who had marooned them on this island, where they had managed to exist for five weeks, living on birds and an occasional seal. The original party, numbering fourteen, had stolen a boat at Port Jackson, intending to make for and if possible to raise the *Sydney Cove*, hoping by her

means to gain their liberty. Failing to find Preservation Island, and some of them fearing that their numbers were too great for their boat, they seized an opportunity when these seven men were asleep to leave them deserted on the island. Promising to visit the marooned men again on his return, Bass pushed forward to make his way along the coast to the westward.

On 4th January Bass came upon and entered a large inlet. "I have named the place", he wrote, "from its relative situation to every other known harbour on the coast Western Port." This important gulf, (destined to become many years later a naval station of the Commonwealth of Australia), afforded the intrepid explorer a refuge in which to rest his people, to repair the boat, and to make some examination of the surrounding country. The time had now arrived, however, to consider the return voyage. Bass's words in describing the state of affairs are significant. "As the seventh week had now expired, our reduced provisions forced us to turn our heads homewards. We did it very reluctantly." It is worth while to glance at Plate 9 to note how far to the westward Bass had travelled. He had reached a point of which the longitude nearly agrees with that of Circular Head, which is no great distance from the north-west corner of Tasmania. Some eighty miles added to his course would have carried him to the western extremity of the strait now bearing his name, and it is not surprising that when he left Western Port so reluctantly on the 18th of January he found a long south-west swell setting in upon the land, a regular surge that had been rolling up from the time he passed the Promontory. That swell could have but one source, the open ocean to the westward.

Turning eastwards Bass ran along the coast towards the Promontory, but a gale of wind and the heavy sea compelled him to run in under the point now called Cape Liptrap, where the boat had to be beached. Three days were lost here before he was able to make for the islands lying on the west side of the great cape. More bad weather came on, but the time was spent in sheltered places, in securing a number of petrels and salting them down for the homeward journey. When the weather moderated the leader carried out the promise made to the men whom he had found stranded on an island. It was impossible to take them all into the boat, but room was found for two, one an old man and the other too ill to travel, the boat's crew willingly consenting to share their now reduced rations with them. The other runaways were put ashore on the mainland, and given a musket, some ammunition, fishing lines and a cooking-pot, with instructions regarding the route to be followed on their journey to Port Jackson. Proceeding round the cape Bass inspected the

little group of islands lying off its eastern shore, adding to his food supplies by the capture of seals. From the number of these animals seen here he came to the conclusion that the islands offered advantages for a small speculation, and Sealers' Cove, a little inlet on the mainland, where he was held up for three days by foul winds, appeared to him a suitable base from which to work the industry, with plenty of wood and water for a boiling-down station.

This compulsory rest at Sealers' Cove gave Bass an opportunity to examine the important headland to which Hunter, at the suggestion of Flinders and Bass, later on gave the name Wilson's Promontory, to honour a friend of Flinders who was a London merchant. About twenty-five miles in length, with a breadth ranging from five to twelve miles, and composed of hard granite, this massive headland from its form and position greatly impressed Bass, who, sailor-like, was accustomed to record his facts compactly and without letting his personal enthusiasms or sensations intrude themselves into his written accounts. " Its firmness and vast durability make it well worthy of being, what there is great reason to believe it is, the boundary point of a large strait, and a corner stone of this great island, New Holland." Bass was now convinced in his mind about the existence of a strait, and as a practical sailor could appreciate the value of his discovery. He had been observing the tides all along the coast, and here, at the extremity of a point pushing itself so far into the sea, he makes a special study of them, but, as a cautious explorer, rightly feels that he is not justified in proclaiming that a new sea-passage has been found, and he therefore prudently puts the case with these words : " Whenever it shall be decided that the opening between this and Van Diemen's Land is a strait, this rapidity of tide, and that long S.W. swell that seems to be continually rolling in upon the coast to the westward, will then be accounted for."

When the weather permitted the boat was taken along the coast to Corner Inlet, a shallow piece of water washing the low neck of sand connecting the Promontory with the mainland. Here again delay was caused by the weather, but an opportunity occurred to help the five men who had been landed from their island. They turned up at the inlet and were put across on to the Ninety Mile Beach to continue their trying journey along the coast to Sydney. Nothing was ever heard of these people afterwards. On 9th February Bass was able to leave the inlet with a strong favourable wind, but on the following day was forced to run the risk of putting the boat through the surf and beaching her. An interview with some natives who joined

them here was a friendly one; apparently they had never seen white men before. Getting to sea again Cape Howe was passed on the 14th, and the following day the boat entered Twofold Bay, but only a few hours were spent here, for provisions were getting short, and it was important to make use of every helpful breeze. This bay eventually became a base for the whale fishery carried on along the southern coast of New South Wales, and Bass probably had the satisfaction of learning that his discovery was being put to such good use. It would have been an additional reward for the explorer could he have known that at a later period it would become a shipping port for fattened cattle, "the sort of produce that ships itself off". Pushing north and taking advantage of every favourable breeze, although compelled to seek shelter occasionally, the boat at length arrived safely at its destination, passing through Sydney Heads on the 24th of February, after a journey of twelve weeks.

The comments of Flinders on this "dangerous and fatiguing voyage" require particular attention. None were more competent at the time he wrote to express an opinion concerning it, for he had then completed his career as an explorer, and had written his name alongside that of Cook in the annals of Australian discovery. From his personal experiences and local knowledge he could write with deep understanding of what his friend had passed through.

"It should be remembered", wrote Flinders, "that Mr. Bass sailed with only six weeks' provisions; but with the assistance of occasional supplies of petrels, fish, seal's flesh, and a few geese and black swans, and by abstinence, he had been enabled to prolong his voyage beyond *eleven* weeks. His ardour and perseverance were crowned, in despite of the foul winds which so much opposed him, with a degree of success not to have been anticipated from such feeble means. In three hundred miles of coast, from Port Jackson to Ram Head, he added a number of particulars which had escaped Captain Cook, and always will escape any navigator in a first discovery, unless he have the time and means of joining a close examination by boats to what may be seen from the ship. Our previous knowledge of the coast scarcely extended beyond the Ram Head, and there began the harvest in which Mr. Bass was ambitious to place the first reaping hook. The new coast was traced three hundred miles and he found it assume the appearance of being exposed to the buffeting of an open sea. Mr. Bass himself entertained no doubt of the existence of a wide strait, separating Van Diemen's Land from New South Wales, and he yielded with the greatest reluctance to the necessity of returning, before it was so fully ascertained as to admit of no doubt in the minds of others. A voyage *expressly* undertaken for discovery in an open boat, and in which six hundred miles of coast, mostly in a boisterous climate, was explored,

has not perhaps its equal in the annals of maritime history. The public will award to its high spirited and able conductor, alas! now no more, an honourable place in the list of those whose ardour stands most conspicuous for the promotion of useful knowledge."

Collins' reference to Bass's bold enterprise, given in his *Account of the English Colony of New South Wales*, is of some importance, because it affords an answer to a statement, made as recently as 1895, that Bass did not realize in full the extent of his discovery. Collins left the colony in 1796, and the second part of his published work is based on " materials for the purpose, on the authenticity of which he could safely stake his credit". There is little doubt now that these materials were supplied by Governor Hunter, but howsoever obtained the information concerning Bass's work used by Collins undoubtedly presented the view of the case generally accepted at the time his book was published, that is, in 1802. This is how Collins recorded the event :

" Towards the end of the month (February 1798), Mr. Bass returned from an excursion in an open boat to the southward, after an absence of twelve weeks. This gentleman requested the Governor to allow him a boat, and permit him to man her with volunteers from the King's ships, proposing to go along the coast and make such observations as might be in his power. The Governor readily consenting, he set out, as well provided as the size of his boat would allow, and in her he proceeded as far to the southward as the latitude 40° 0 0′, visiting every opening in the coast. There was every appearance of an extensive strait, or rather an open sea, between the latitudes of 39° and 40° south, and that Van Diemen's Land consisted (as had been conjectured) of a group of islands lying off the southern coast of the country. . . . He regretted that he had not been possessed of a better vessel, which would have enabled him to circumnavigate Van Diemen's Land."

It is always a source of satisfaction for those who have solved a difficult riddle that has long stood in the way of human progress to be granted an opportunity to give a personal demonstration of the solution. It was not long before Bass, in conjunction with Flinders, was able in such a manner to confirm his expressed opinions concerning the strait, and to convince any who may have had doubts about his conclusions. The call of duty, however, had first to be obeyed, and a run to Norfolk Island in the *Reliance*, on colonial service, prevented immediate action. It is probable that this interval was occupied by the two friends in maturing plans for an extended venture, provided they could find the means, that is, something that would sail upon the waters, and could secure official sanction to carry those schemes out.

(5) Flinders' Voyage in the "Francis," 1798

When Bass returned to Sydney from his expedition in the whaleboat he found that his friend Flinders had grasped at and secured another opportunity for some exploring work, having left Port Jackson in the *Francis* on the 1st February, the day before he himself was able to leave Sealers' Cove for Corner Inlet, at Wilson's Promontory. This was the third and last trip of the Government schooner to Preservation Island, and it was sanctioned by Hunter, at the request of Captain Hamilton, to bring away a few men he had left there on the second trip and anything that remained of the cargo of the *Sydney Cove.*

"On this occasion", wrote Flinders afterwards, when describing his experiences, "I was happy enough to obtain Governor Hunter's permission to embark in the schooner, in order to make such observations serviceable to geography and navigation, as circumstances might afford, and Mr. Reed, the master, was directed to forward these views as far as was consistent with the main objects of his voyage."

On the way southwards Twofold Bay was passed at night, and when abreast of Cape Howe bad weather forced the schooner to bear away eastwards to the open sea (Plate 9). Turning westwards and then northerly land came into view again, and the *Francis* ran along the Ninety Mile Beach, until at sunset on the 7th she sighted Wilson's Promontory ahead. On this day Bass was lying weather-bound in Corner Inlet, but the *Francis* was compelled by a strong wind to turn to the south, well away from the cape, and darkness prevented any possibility of the meeting between the two friends that might otherwise have taken place and that would have been so welcome to both. One cannot help wondering if those wretched runaways, put ashore by Bass, were still struggling along the beach, and whether they saw the schooner, as with favouring breeze and current she sped along the coast, and if they made some futile efforts to attract notice. The course now followed by the *Francis* soon bore fruit, although it was of the small kind, but every mile traversed here meant disclosure of the unknown. When Bass a few weeks earlier had stretched away south from the Promontory on a parallel course he had run into the centre of the great vacant area of sea lying between the two horns of broken-up land branching out from the northern corners of Tasmania and formerly connected with it. It was well, on the whole, that he had been compelled to turn back and to continue his way westward along the northern shore of the strait.

As the first exercise of his right as an explorer in Tasmanian waters Flinders now had the pleasure of naming a little group

of islands, met with at the end of the eastern horn, after Lieutenant Kent, of the *Supply*, and he fixed the positions of the jagged tops of some submerged hills that partly lost their danger for later mariners when placed upon the chart. He would, no doubt, have preferred to run down the inner side of the splintered horn, as affording new ground for his keen search, but on her former trips to the *Sydney Cove* the schooner has been taken along the outer course, and her master felt safer in regaining the beaten track. That 'line of country' had at least this comfort for the explorer that it was new ground to him and therefore worth study.

The *Francis* arrived at the scene of the wreck on the 12th February, and was not ready to sail again till the 25th. The interval was fully occupied by Flinders in carrying out a triangulation survey, taking in Preservation, Clark, and the south part of Cape Barren Islands. His purpose was at first delayed by the ship's boat being out of repair, but in the meantime a base line was measured round the sandy north-east end of Preservation Island, and angles were taken at all the conspicuous points. When the boat was fitted he went off on a five days' excursion and made his survey of Armstrong Channel. Plate 10 includes a copy, on a reduced scale, of Flinders' original chart, and it has been reproduced not so much on account of any importance of the area dealt with, but because it presents what was his first nautical survey of a precise nature, and the first British work of the kind made in Tasmania. When he arrived back at Preservation Island the schooner was not yet ready to sail, and he thus had four more days to extend the work already carried out.

Not the least valuable results of this visit to the Furneaux Group are Flinders' observations on the natural history and physical characteristics of those parts to which his chief purpose took him. No natives were seen, for none were there, nor were there any signs of them, although food supplies were plentiful. And yet away to the south, on what must be the main island, Tasmania, many smokes are noticed, indicating their presence. This, he argues, seems to prove some junction of Tasmania with the mainland, and yet again there is that great strength of the tides setting westward past the islands, which could only be caused by some exceedingly deep inlet, or by a passage through to the Indian Ocean. There is something here to excite wonder and speculation, and a determination to probe further into the matter at a later date, if so it can be managed.

Of seals two kinds were met with, the hair-seal, "the old males of an enormous size and of extraordinary power", which preferred sheltered beaches, and the more valuable family, the

fur-skinned sea-bears, inhabiting more exposed spots. The graphic description by the young surveyor of the sight that met his view at one of his triangulation stations, Cone Point (the Rocky Point of his chart), forming the south-east corner of Cape Barren Island, sad though it be, and ominous of a time so soon to follow, must not be omitted from our study, if we are to realize, to some extent, the primitive conditions of Tasmania's sea-fronts.

"The seventh station was on Cone Point, where the number of seals exceeded everything we had, any of us, before witnessed, and they were smaller, and of a different species from those which frequented Armstrong's Channel. Instead of the bull-dog nose, and thinly-set sandy hair, these had sharp pointed noses, and the general colour of the hair approached to a black, but the tips were of a silver grey, and underneath was a fine, whitish, thick fur. The commotion excited by our presence, in this assemblage of several thousand timid animals, was very interesting to me, who knew little of their manners. The young cubs huddled together in the holes of the rocks, and moaned piteously, those more advanced scampered and rolled down to the water with their mothers, whilst some of the old males stood up in defence of their families, until the terror of the sailors' bludgeons became too strong to be resisted. Those who have seen a farmyard well stocked with pigs, calves, sheep, oxen, and with two or three litters of puppies with their mothers in it, and have heard them all in tumult together, may form a good idea of the confused noise of the seals at Cone Point. The sailors killed as many of these harmless and not unamiable creatures as they were able to skin during the time necessary for me to take the requisite angles, and we then left the poor affrighted multitude to recover from the effects of our inauspicious visit."

When short of food on the western side of Wilson's Promontory, Bass had been able to obtain supplies of sooty petrels (*mutton-birds*) on the islands there. Here in the Furneaux group Flinders was in the midst of a densely populated rookery of those birds, whose activities have excited the wonder of all who have had opportunities of observing their habits. Unlike the seals, which have been practically exterminated, this persistent species of sea-fowl, notwithstanding its contests with mankind, has been able to hold its own, and may be expected to survive in the never-ending battle for existence. Fortunately for the species its flesh is not highly popular. At the time when Flinders made his observations the young birds were at a stage when they are most edible :

"The sooty petrel frequents the tufted grassy parts of all the islands in astonishing numbers. It is known that these birds make

burrows in the ground like rabbits ; that they lay one or two enormous eggs in these holes, and bring up their young there. In the evening they come in from the sea, having their stomachs filled with a gelatinous substance gathered from the waves, and this they eject into the throats of their offspring, or retain for their own nourishment, according to circumstances. A little after sunset the air at Preservation Island used to be darkened with their numbers, and it was generally an hour before their squabblings ceased, and every one had found its own retreat. The people of the *Sydney Cove* had a strong example of perseverance in these birds. The tents were pitched close to a piece of ground full of their burrows, many of which were necessarily filled up from walking constantly over them, yet notwithstanding this interruption and the thousands of birds destroyed, for they constituted a great part of their food during more than six months, the returning flights continued to be as numerous as before, and there was scarcely a burrow less, except in the spaces actually covered by the tents. These birds are about the size of a pigeon, and when skinned and dried in smoke we thought them passable food. Any quantity could be procured by sending people ashore in the evening. The sole process was to thrust in the arm up to the shoulder and seize them briskly, but there was some danger of grasping a snake at the bottom of the burrow, instead of a petrel."

Other animals noted by Flinders were kangaroos, wombats, aculeated anteaters, with their spiny porcupine-like skins, duck-billed platypus, geese and swans, all these furnishing welcome food when obtainable. The flesh of the penguins seen on the islands, being strong and fishy in flavour, had no attraction for the little community during its visit, but the fact that their skins served to make rather handsome caps, impenetrable to rain, brought them a certain amount of molestation.

The schooner sailed on 25th February, and Flinders, being anxious to learn how the islands he had just left were situated with regard to the mainland of Tasmania requested her master to keep a southerly course for a time. At noon that day, as Plate 9 shows, he was level with and a little to the east of Cape Portland, and before turning north for the homeward run was satisfied that he was but three miles " from the land discovered by Tasman in 1642 ". The passage back to head-quarters was a slow business, and it was not till the 9th March that the vessel anchored in Sydney Cove. There was a reward at the end, however :

" Mr. Bass had been returned a fortnight from his expedition in the whaleboat, and he communicated all his notes and observations to be added to my chart. There seemed to want no other proof of the existence of a passage between New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land than that of sailing positively through it, but however anxious I was to obtain this proof the gratification of my desire was required to be suspended by a voyage to Norfolk Island in the *Reliance*."

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NEW SOUTH WALES
Twofold Bay
C. Howe
Feb.y 4th 1798
Ram Head
Jan.y 9th 1799
The shore from Port Jackson to Western Port was coasted by Mr Bass in a Whale Boat. The water-shaded parts are copied from his eye sketch.
Tracks. that of the Colonial Schooner Francis in 1798
that of the Sloop Norfolk in 1798-9
the Whale Boats track by Mr G. Bass Surgeon of H.M.S. Reliance
The dark parts of the track were run in the night
Low Sandy Coast covered with Brush and small Trees
Western Port
Feb.y 7th
Feb.y 6th
Corner Inlet
Wilson's Promontory
Oct.r 15th 1798
16th
17th
BASS'S STRAIT
Kents Group
Judgment R.
Sisters
Jan.y 8th 1799
Feb.y 9th 1798
Pyramid
Jan.y 2nd 1798
Land of considerable extent has been seen in about this situation
FURNEAUX's ISLANDS
10th
Chappell Id.
Oct.r 30
Jan.y 7th
Preservation Isle
Clarke's I.
Dec.r 5th 1798
Albatross I.
Three Hummock I.
HUNTER'S ISLES
6th
Circular Head
Nov.r 25
Novemb.r 21
BANKS'S STRAIT
Isle Waterhouse
Cape Portland
Feb.y 25th 1798
Nov.r 3rd
5th
Table Cape
Decem.r 1st
Eddystone Point
Port Dalrymple
Dec.r 10th
St Helens Point
Mt. Norfolk
Peak like a Volcano
VAN DIEMEN'S
Tasman's Peak
St Patrick's Head
Mt. Heemskerk
Circumnavigated in the Colonial Sloop Norfolk by Mr Flinders
Mt. Zeehaan
Adventure Bay is copied from Capt. Cook's sketch. The unshaded East Coast was laid down by Capt. Furneaux. The part about Oyster Bay is copied from a Plan by J.H. Cox Esq.r published by Mr Dalrymple in 1791. The parts touched with Yellow* are copied from a Manuscript chart by Mr J. Hayes who visited the S.E. end of Van Diemens Land in a Ship called the Duke, from Bengal; their accuracy I cannot answer for. Henshaws Bay and Cape Hanson in his Chart are re-altered to Frederick Henry Bay and Cape Pillar. A few other alterations are made in the Names we re-examined in the Sloop: his Ports & Bays are called Coves & his Rivers Creeks
(* Not shown herein)
11th
Pyramid
LAND
4th
Oyster Bay
Risdon cove
Derwent River
Fairlies Cove
Pruen C.
Dec.r 14
Adamsons Harbour
C. F Henry
Cape Pillar
12th
Pt St Vincent
Adventure Bay
Penguin I.
Pyramid rocks
Pt. Scott
S.W. Cape
South Cape
Tasmans Head
Dec.r 13
De Witts Isles
Storm Bay Passage
Mewstone
Pedro Blanco
Eddystone
A CHART of BASS'S STRAIT BETWEEN NEW SOUTH WALES AND VAN DIEMENS LAND Explored by MATTw FLINDERS 2nd Lieut. of his Majesty's Ship Reliance by order of His Excellency GOVERNOR HUNTER 1798-9

m a Chart published in London in 1800 by A. Arrowsmith, with some small additions and omissions.

(6) Circumnavigation of Tasmania, 1798–1799

After the return of the *Reliance* from Norfolk Island, which occurred in July 1798, Flinders and Bass set about their scheme for demonstrating to the world the fact of which they themselves were well assured, the existence of a strait between Tasmania and Australia. Writing of this operation in after years, Flinders, who naturally took the lead throughout in the conduct of affairs, carefully brackets the name of Bass with his own on every page of his narrative. Invariably jealous on behalf of others that full justice should be done to them, and that they should receive proper credit for their performances, he was scrupulously careful that the part played by his friend in this new venture should be understood.

"In September", he wrote, "His Excellency, Governor Hunter, had the goodness to give me the *Norfolk*, a colonial sloop of twenty-five tons, with authority to penetrate behind Furneaux's Islands, and should a strait be found, to pass through it and return by the south end of Van Diemen's Land, making such examinations and surveys as circumstances might permit. Twelve weeks were allowed for the performance of this service, and provisions for that time were put on board; the rest of the equipment was completed by the friendly care of Captain Waterhouse of the *Reliance*. I had the happiness to associate my friend Bass in this new expedition, and to form an excellent crew of eight volunteers from the King's ships; but a time-keeper, that essential instrument to accuracy in nautical survey, it was still impossible to obtain."

Hunter extended his help to the project in full measure, and by a happy chance was able to supply Flinders with a vessel for his voyage. Owing to the condition of the *Reliance* she was able to make so few trips to Norfolk Island that the commanding officer there, Captain Townson, built the *Norfolk* to permit of more regular communication between the island and Sydney. She was constructed of the local pine wood, and served the purpose of the explorers well enough, though the *Francis* would have been more comfortable; she, however, was busily employed in other ways. The sloop arrived in Sydney upon her first trip in June 1798, and in a letter to the Secretary of the Navy, dated the 3rd September, the Governor, after referring to the voyages already carried out by Flinders and Bass, reported that he was endeavouring to fit out a decked boat in which he proposed to send these two officers to ascertain whether there was a safe and navigable passage to the south, as appeared evident from their observations.

Thus it was that the happy pair found themselves at sea in

the *Norfolk* on 7th October on what proved to be their last journey together. They were well content with their prospects, the spirit of adventure was strong within them, and it was "Adventure" spelt with capital letters and bright with the enticing, almost certain hope of great achievement.

Flinders' report concerning the fur-skinned seals he had seen on the Furneaux group of islands had aroused interest in them in Sydney, and a desire to exploit the rookeries. As a result, when the *Norfolk* left Port Jackson she was accompanied by the brig *Nautilus*, fitted out for the seal fishery. This, therefore, was the first "speculation" on a large scale directed against Tasmanian seals. The financial results of the industry thus initiated will probably never be known, for it appears to have been carried on without official supervision of any kind from the beginning. The success of those engaged in this trade was merely temporary, for each ship employed in the slaughter secured as many skins as possible without any thought of the future, a policy which could have but one result. On this occasion the *Nautilus* obtained nine thousand skins of first-class quality and several tons of oil.

On the way south the two vessels called in at Twofold Bay, where a marine survey was made of the harbour. In an interview with one of the natives met with there, Flinders had an amusing experience which relieved the monotony of the survey operations. Desiring to establish friendly relations with the man, who had joined the party with careless confidence, Flinders made much of him and presented him with some biscuit. Not to be outdone in cordiality the native returned the compliment by giving the navigator a piece of gristly fat, probably cut from a dead whale stranded in the bay. Seizing an opportunity the latter spat out this unsavoury food, after tasting it, and then noticed that the black-fellow, equally disgusted with the biscuit, got rid of it in the same way. The mutual exchange of food, however, sufficed to prove good-will, and the native remained with the survey party, watching its proceedings, till he was convinced that those who could conduct operations such as theirs must indeed be quite harmless.

After leaving Cape Howe Flinders sailed south-west to search for the land supposed to have been seen by Furneaux (Plate 4), and it was not long before he became convinced that no such land existed in the position indicated by the earlier navigator. Continuing his course he passed between the two principal islands of Kent's Group, discovered by him when in the *Francis*. He was now making for Preservation Island, but weather and a broken coast called for careful navigation before the two vessels anchored near the scene of the *Sydney Cove* wreck. On the way

a group of small islands had been noted and charted by the explorer. He called these Chappell Islands, and his selection of this name is significant, for less than three years later, when he had attained the rank of Commander and was preparing in England for the voyage of the *Investigator*, he became engaged to and married Miss Chappell, an early friend of his own and of his family. Thus did Romance assert his presence as a passenger on board the *Norfolk* in October 1798. Another name which arrests attention is that of Franklin, given to a point on the west end of Cape Barren Island. The two families of Flinders and Franklin were related, but for other reasons the latter name in later years came to be applied to many features in the southern parts of Tasmania.

Attention should be drawn here to the dark parts of the track shown on Flinders' chart of Tasmania (Plate 9). These were so marked to indicate the sections of the course run at night, and they were shown in this manner to inform others that the map was not complete and that there might be dangers in those areas. Flinders always regarded charts as documents that should convey the fullest possible information, nautical intelligence that it would be tedious to describe in words.

From the 20th to the 30th of October the *Norfolk* was held up in Armstrong's Channel, the interval being spent by Flinders in completing his early survey, and by Bass in making investigations on shore and recording everything of interest to be seen. The two subjects that particularly attracted the surgeon's attention were the small petrified trees on Preservation Island and the new animal, the wombat. Unfortunately the area of land on which the trees had been standing, a hundred feet above the sea and a few hundred yards square, had suffered from the curiosity of the crew of the *Sydney Cove* and "the frolics of an unruly horse that had been saved from the wreck", with the result that the brittle petrified trunks or stems had been broken off, leaving only short stumps standing. Bass came to the conclusion that the change in structure of the wood had been caused by the formation of a pond of mineralized water, which, after completing its work, had itself been annihilated by some convulsion of nature. We may easily imagine that, left in its original state, this tract of transformed bush, standing isolated, lifeless and stark, in the midst of the ordinary woodland surrounding it, and unresponsive to its music, would have presented a weird picture to the eye.

Leaving the *Nautilus* engaged on her sealing operations in Kent's Bay the *Norfolk* moved down to Swan Island on the 31st of October. Eight months before, when Flinders in the

Francis had sighted Cape Portland, he had been seized with a longing to sail westward to put the great conjecture to the test. Now, with his friend to assist in its development, the vision began to take on concrete form. Three days later, after sailing along the coast, noting the nature of the country and the fires of its inhabitants, and having traversed the passage between Waterhouse Island and the mainland, he rounded Low Head and entered Port Dalrymple. That evening the *Norfolk* anchored at the entrance of the Western Arm of the River Tamar near Shag Rock (Plate 10). Carried up to this position by a strong flood tide, and driving past Green Island, now called Garden Island, the explorers were struck by the appearance of these new scenes. "We could not but remark the contrast between the shores of this inlet, covered with grass and wood down to the water's edge, and the rocky sterile banks observed in sailing up Port Jackson; it spoke favourably for the country, and added to the satisfaction we felt in having made the discovery." An additional source for contentment was near at hand, for a boat journey up the Western Arm resulted in the capture of four unfledged swans. These afforded great joy, as they gave promise of fresh provisions during the visit to the port.

The two comrades were now in their element, each exerting himself in his own way to make the most of so fine an opportunity to gather in information about an arm of the sea which enabled them to penetrate well into the country. Flinders lost no time in getting to work on what was to him the important thing to be done, namely, the most comprehensive survey of the inlet that the time at his disposal would allow. On the day after their arrival he laid down his first base-line (one of a series of five), and thereafter for fifteen days he was fully occupied in measurements and observations for the construction of a chart. The highest anchorage of the sloop was a little above Swan Point, but the work was carried higher up to a bend in the river not far from Cimitière Point and about fourteen miles below Launceston.

"As the order I received from Captain Hunter", he wrote, "to return to Port Jackson in twelve weeks did not leave me any superfluous time, and the principal object of the expedition remained to be fulfilled, I found it necessary to forego the desire of examining this river to its farthest navigable extent, and therefore determined to dedicate the following days to an excursion in the boat as far upwards as I should be able to carry on the survey."

For five days the *Norfolk* was weather-bound, but the time was not wasted, and the final results of the navigator's examination of the port were a complete chart of the parts visited and ample

sailing directions for vessels entering it, when the time should come for settlement to take place. From the undisturbed condition of Green Island Flinders came to the conclusion that the inhabitants had no canoes; when passing Waterhouse Island he had noticed a small islet covered with birds and seals, and had drawn a similar inference. Slight as these pieces of evidence may appear they have importance in any general survey of the conditions under which these primitive people were living. Only four natives were seen on the Tamar, but they kept themselves aloof from the visitors and showed no disposition to be friendly in any way.

Bass enjoyed his visit to Port Dalrymple. When not required to help in the navigation of the sloop he spent his time either ashore, making botanical notes and shooting, or in observing the habits of black swans and catching them to supply the party with food. He found that "the flowering shrubs and odoriferous plants perfumed the air with the fragrance of their oils" in a manner differing from the flowering shrubs of New South Wales. "The two countries present a perfect similarity in this, that the more barren spots are the most gaily adorned. The curious florist and scientific botanist would find ample subject of exultation in their different researches in Port Dalrymple." He formed the opinion that the greater part of the soil, while promising a fair return for a cultivator, was better adapted to be employed as pasturage. "The tides run so uncommonly rapid", he reported, "that if the port were colonised and the principal town built, as it no doubt would be, near the entrance, the produce of the villages and farms scattered along its banks might be brought to market with the greatest ease, expedition and certainty." Bass's account was valuable when the time actually came for settlement to take place, but experience soon showed that his forecast regarding the best position for a centre, though a natural one to make under the circumstances, was incorrect. He reported that many aquatic birds, both web-footed and waders, frequented the arms and coves of the river, but that swans alone were remarkable for their numbers. At one place he made a calculation that three hundred were swimming within the space of a quarter of a mile square. He heard "the dying song" of some scores of these birds, but that song, "so celebrated by the poets of former times, exactly resembled the creaking of a rusty alehouse sign on a windy day!" Not more than two-thirds of any flock the party fell in with could fly, the rest could do no more than flap along the surface of the water, being either in a moulting stage or not yet come to full feather. Even so, swimming and flapping alternately, they moved surprisingly fast.

Flinders noted that in the bay where the largest number of birds were assembled (near Swan Point), the cast quills were so intermixed with the sand as to form a component part of the beach, and he concluded that many of the swans, although not young birds, were unable to fly because they moulted their wing feathers at fixed periods, though not, he thought, every year. Bass thought the huts of the natives which he came across wretchedly constructed. It is a pity that it did not occur to him to describe these closely, so that comparison might be made with those seen in the south. Seven or eight were generally found together, and it appeared strange to him that in latitude 41° south want should not have sharpened the ideas of the savages to invent some more convenient habitation.

The *Norfolk* had a set-back soon after she left Port Dalrymple on the 20th November, for a westerly gale compelled her to run for shelter, first to Chappell Islands, and then to Preservation Island (Plate 9). This stroke of ill-luck meant a delay of two weeks in all, for when Flinders had worked back to Low Head a second head-wind drove him into Port Dalrymple, and it was not until 3rd December that he was able to start again on his westerly course. Very soon "a flat-topped peak, which had very much the appearance of an extinguished volcano", lying far inland, claimed the attention it deserved, and its position was fixed. This remarkable cone-shaped mass, 3,637 feet in altitude, is now called St. Valentine Peak. Table Cape and Circular Head were passed on the 6th, and then the great game on which the explorers were engaged began to grow thrilling. Both were convinced of the existence of a strait, but proof, certain proof, was needed, and when land was seen to the north-west, land that might be part of Tasmania, it is not surprising, at such a time of tension, that some doubts arose in their minds. "This trending of the coast so far to the north", Flinders admitted afterwards, "made me apprehend that it might be found to join the land near Western Port, and thus disappoint our hopes of discovering an open passage to the westward; the water was also discoloured, as if we were approaching the head of a bay, rather than the issue of a strait."

On the evening of the 8th the voyagers were glad to anchor under Three Hummock Island, taking shelter from a breeze that threatened a gale from the boisterous quarter, the south-west. Owing to the many days that had been lost through foul weather they landed on the island, hoping to obtain an addition to their food supplies, for already a reduction in rations had taken place, lest the object of the voyage should be threatened by shortage. But the island had little enough to offer, though deserted

native fire-places were found, with shells of the sea-ear scattered round them. These evidences of the visits of savages puzzled them, for it did not seem probable that if canoes were unknown at Port Dalrymple they would be in use here. Writing about this experience at a later date Flinders remarked that more recent visitors had seen natives crossing to it from the neighbouring island by swimming.

One illuminating fact was disclosed to the explorers by the visit ashore. They knew that the tide had been running from the eastward all the afternoon, and high water might therefore be expected at this point, if it were near the head of a deep gulf. It was on the contrary nearly low water by the shore, "the flood therefore came from the west and not from the eastward, as at Furneaux Isles, a strong proof not only of the real existence of a passage betwixt this land and New South Wales, but also that the entrance into the Southern Indian Ocean could not be far distant". To the two friends, lying at their anchorage under the friendly shelter of Three Hummock Island, it appeared that a solution of the problem that had brought them there must come in a period that might now be measured by hours. During the night the south-west wind that had opposed the progress of the *Norfolk* died away. Daybreak on the 9th of December brought with it a calm, and then at six o'clock a light breeze from the south-east sprang up. Favoured with such a wind a start was made at once, and soon the little vessel, after rounding the north-east point of the island, pointed her bow to the west. But the early morning hours had been marked for the adventurers by a spectacle which in ancient days would certainly have been taken as an omen, as some message of the gods, foretelling a memorable event. Issuing from the bight to the southward that had been noticed west of Circular Head, there came such a flight of sooty petrels as none on board had ever seen before. This stream of birds, Flinders reckoned, was three hundred yards or more in breadth, and from fifty to eighty yards in depth. For a full hour and a half it flowed northward, a compact mass of sea-fowl in rapid motion. "Taking the stream to have been 50 yards deep by 100 in width, and that it moved at the rate of 30 miles an hour, and allowing 9 cubic yards of space to each bird, the number would amount to 151,500,000. The burrows required to lodge this quantity of birds allowing a square yard to each burrow, would cover more than 18½ square miles of ground."

With a fresh breeze the *Norfolk* before noon passed the northern point of Hunter or Fleurieu Island. No land was to be seen to the north, and only a small steep island to the west, but the ocean swell was here. Flinders describes this great and satis-

factory incident of the voyage, which swept all doubts away, in these terms :

"So soon as we had passed the north point, a long swell was perceived to come from the south-west, such as we had not been accustomed to for some time. It broke heavily upon a small reef, lying a mile and a half from the point, and upon all the western shores ; but although it was likely to prove troublesome, and perhaps dangerous, Mr. Bass and myself hailed it with joy and mutual congratulation, as announcing the completion of our long-wished for discovery of a passage into the Southern Indian Ocean."

Making for the steep island, which appeared to be almost white with birds, the sloop remained near it while Bass went ashore to procure, if possible, a supply of food. It proved a fruitful visit, for he was soon able to return with a boat-load of seals and albatrosses. Near the shore he had had to fight his way through the seals, and when at the top of the cliffs the ground was so fully occupied by birds that the party was compelled to make a passage through them by the use of their clubs. Flinders called this populous resort of sea-birds and animals Albatross Island, and from it he turned southward, helped by a strong tide, and it was not long before the north-west point of Tasmania, named by him from its appearance Cape Grim, was passed. The land to the north of this cape, thus recognized as forming a group of islands, received the title of Hunter's Isles, in honour of the Governor of New South Wales. The end of this eventful day found the sloop seeking shelter under the cliffs with a strong gale blowing off the land.

The west coast of Tasmania has few features that would attract the eye of an explorer pressed for time, and bound by all the circumstances to conduct the navigation of his vessel with extreme caution. Beyond charting its outline Flinders found nothing calling for close investigation. A range of hills north of the Pieman River was named after the *Norfolk*, and the mouth of that river and a smoke showing the presence of natives were observed. It was in later years that the river received its present name. Opposite the opening into Macquarie Harbour, a break in the land he could not examine by a near approach, an interesting ceremony, one thoroughly in keeping with Flinders' character, took place. He had now nearly reached the line of Tasman's track when the Dutch sailor was approaching the island. Two hills stood out among the many seen lying inland. "The two last", he wrote, "appear to have been the smaller mountains seen by Tasman to the North East, on his discovering this land Nov. 24, 1642 ; and I have therefore named the first Mount

Heemskerk, and the latter, Mount Zeehaan, after his two ships." This graceful act on the part of Flinders will be referred to later. He thought the mountains of the west coast of Tasmania barren-looking and forbidding, though none would have rejoiced more than he could he but have known that some of them were eventually to become hives of British industry because of the stores of mineral wealth they contained. The Frenchman's Cap, that important mountain that was surely seen by Tasman, was hidden from view when the *Norfolk* passed by, but the true form of Point Hibbs, which the early navigator took to be an island, was detected and this feature called after the master of the sloop, the only member of the crew, with one exception, whose name has been preserved. After passing and naming Rocky Point Flinders, noticed the hills now called De Witt Range. He thought that these peaks were probably what Tasman named De Witts Isles, from his distance having been too far off to distinguish the connecting land. The wide opening into Port Davey was noted, and it was Flinders' intention to examine this more closely, but during the night the sloop was carried too far southward to permit this.

South West Cape had now been reached, four days after the joyous passing from Bass Strait to the Indian Ocean. Nearly ten weeks out of the twelve allotted for the full voyage had been spent, and it was now evident that the time-table must suffer some alteration. Though Flinders was now following the tracks laid down by others, there was much that he wished to do, and with too little time at his disposal he saw that he could not do full justice to the opportunity placed in his hands. It is necessary to direct our attention here to the information provided for him by the observations of earlier visitors to the southern parts of Tasmania. We have seen how little had been done, before the arrival of D'Entrecasteaux, to examine carefully the great waterways that were calling for exploration. In his account of the French expedition, published in 1808, Rossel stated that the British Admiralty, when it promoted an investigation of the discoveries made by D'Entrecasteaux, had been able to make use of the results obtained by him, which had been captured in 1795. There is no evidence to support this assertion. The Admiralty did not promote Flinders' voyage, nor had it sent out to Sydney, as it might well have done, any details gleaned from the captured papers. If Flinders had had even rough drafts of the surveys of the French officers they must have been of the greatest use to him. When he saw the finished charts of Beautemps-Beaupré at a later date he bestowed on them the praise they deserved. The only plan in his hands when he visited the Derwent was the eye-

sketch of Lieut. Hayes, made in 1793, which had probably been sent out to Governor Hunter by Dalrymple, the Hydrographer of the Navy.

When the *Norfolk* had left the South West Cape behind Flinders passed between Maatsuyker Islands and the main, in order to chart the coast more precisely than had been done by his predecessors. He was surprised to see that the grassy vegetation of two of the islands had been burnt, but made no comment on a possible cause. The query naturally arises, had a fire been started by natives visiting the islands, or was it the result of lightning? A channel three miles wide on such an exposed coast would seem to present a formidable barrier to the activities of the aborigines, however anxious they may have been to feed themselves for a few days, and considering the frail nature of the canoes or "floats" which they may have possessed. The people on the *Norfolk* did not see any seals either on the islands or in the sea near-by. Flinders had wished to enter the channel which Hayes' sketch showed between the island he had named William Pitt's Island and the mainland (Plate 8), but the foul weather experienced during the night of the 13th December prevented this design. Nor did he find it possible to enter Adventure Bay, anxious as Bass was to land at that comparatively well-known harbour. One may suspect that the true exploring instinct which Flinders possessed craved for tracts that still remained untouched by expert investigation, and hastened his movements.

When considering the proceedings of the *Norfolk* after its arrival in Storm Bay we have to bear in mind two circumstances connected with the visit, otherwise confusion may arise with respect to some of the place-names to be found on present-day maps. These contain a sorry spectacle of disarray, the result of careless treatment by the earlier map-makers after settlement of the island took place. It is worth while paying a little attention to this subject because, rightly considered, place-names are something more than convenient labels for certain localities. Many of them have historical associations that we would prefer to keep in remembrance, and it is therefore desirable that the "labels" should not be misplaced. When Flinders, on his passage down the west coast, named the two hills first seen by Tasman, Heemskerk and Zeehaan, he was acting with a full appreciation of the great value of such a procedure. By bringing forward the names of the two ships of the early discoverer and applying them to those particular spots, he painted with the hand of a true artist such a scene on the west coast as must remain attached to it for ever.

We have first to remember, then, that after Flinders visited

Tasmania he wrote an account which presented a picture of the country based on previous discoveries (excluding those of D'Entrecasteaux), and on his own investigations. Plate 9, which may be taken as an accompaniment of this account, is copied from a plan published in England in 1800, which was evidently based on information supplied by him. Several of his place-names, not inserted in the published plan, have been added to this copy, to render it complete. Secondly, it must be noted that when in later years he published his *Voyage to Terra Australis*, he included a narrative of his work in Tasmania, in which he made use of information that had come into his possession after the voyage of the *Norfolk* (19). He prepared a large-scale plan of the Derwent district (Plate 11) to accompany this second narrative, but no original chart of that area properly belonging to the first account, if he ever made one, can now be found. A chart has therefore been reconstructed from available information (Sec. 3, Plate 10), and this is intended to illustrate the first account. Although it has been necessary to direct attention to the fact that there are two distinct descriptions of events by Flinders, it will be convenient here to draw upon both of them for our present purpose, and this course may be followed with advantage and without loss of clearness.

On 14th December, when the *Norfolk* was not far from the mouth of the Derwent, Flinders found, after tacking about for some hours, that he could not make the entrance. He therefore bore away, past Betsey's Island, into the opening which Bligh, in 1792, had called Providence Bay, D'Entrecasteaux North Bay, and Hayes had shown in his sketch as a shallow bight, naming it Henshaw's Bay. The sloop anchored that night in the middle of this stretch of water, and Flinders came to the conclusion that it was in reality what Tasman had called Frederik Hendrik's Bay, and he therefore set down that name, in the form "Frederick Henry" on his chart. The Seven Mile Beach was noticed, but what chiefly attracted his attention was the opening to the eastward, where he hoped to find good shelter, and as he and his companion were, as they thought, the first comers, it seemed to offer a field for further researches. They considered the country had a pleasant appearance, especially some land on the south side of the opening; this was afterwards found to be an island, and distinguished by the name, Sloping Island.

It will be remembered that when Willaumez reached this island on his boat journey in 1793, and, although short of food, carried on to Point Renard, he was prevented by bad weather from moving farther to the east, where he would in all probability

(19) Note.

have discovered East Bay Neck, and thus solved the problem on which he was engaged. The luck of the game on that occasion was against the French officer. It may be said to have been against Flinders on that 15th December, when he sailed into the sheet of water he afterwards called Norfolk Bay. The sloop was anchored for some hours under the Isle of Caves, on which the explorers landed to make observations. They found it was occasionally visited by natives to collect gulls' eggs and ear-shell fish. In the afternoon they weighed anchor and steered for a smooth beautiful-looking island up the opening, distant about five miles and three-quarters. On landing upon this smooth island in the evening the goodness of its soil was found to be unequal to its appearance; it would, however, they thought, make a fine large garden, there being more than a hundred acres of cultivable ground upon it. Unfortunately the course taken, a natural one under the circumstances, prevented any disclosure of that narrow neck of land, the presence of which would have revealed so much to the explorers.

Smooth Island, the Garden Island of after days, proved to be a spot visited by the inhabitants of the district, while the country on the mainland, stony and barren, though covered with woods, was much frequented by kangaroos. Two days were spent in the vicinity, a wind from the west preventing progress, and then the sloop was taken over to an anchorage on the south side of Norfolk Bay, west of Impression Bay. Here, while Bass spent his time ashore, finding little to interest him, Flinders took observations to every remarkable object in sight from two headlands.

"It was an agreeable surprise", he wrote, "to see a new opening on the east side of the bay, at the back of a small woody island. It did not appear to be above half a mile wide, but the only land that could be seen through it was a hummock which was quite blue from its distance, and I then conjectured it might be one of the Maria Islands; but whether this opens into the ocean, or is the mouth of a river, or whether there may be very low lands running across but a little way back, and thus be neither the one or the other, I cannot determine."

Flinders was in fact looking into the narrow inlet leading to Eagle Hawk Neck, and he wished to investigate it further, but the light trim of the sloop prevented this.

"With the intention of returning to examine it if time and the winds should permit, we stood back out of this upper part of Frederick Henry Bay for the purpose of getting up the Derwent River, where there was little doubt of finding fresh water, as well as the most fertile country."

When passing Betsey's Island Flinders left the sloop for Bass to navigate it into the Derwent, and landed on the island to take observations. It proved to be a difficult ascent, but he was rewarded for his efforts, finding the prospect from it extensive and grand. There were signs that natives visited the place, but none of recent date. That night, the 21st, the *Norfolk* anchored close to the rock upon which the Derwent lighthouse now stands, and on the following day entered the estuary, anchoring at South Arm, near the northern end of Half Moon Bay. At this place a base-line was measured and bearings taken for a survey of the entrance, which was found to be nearly three miles wide. On the morning of the 23rd, with a fresh north wind blowing, and an ebb-tide, no immediate progress could be made ; the sloop was therefore taken over to the western shore, where Flinders landed, and ascending the hill sloping up from the water was able to look out over the upper part of North West Bay. That afternoon, with a fair wind (probably the well-known sea breeze of that season), the *Norfolk* sailed up the estuary of the Derwent, and when it began to get dark stopped in the river itself, abreast of Risdon. Here the stream running into the Cove was found to be so small that it was determined to find a more convenient watering-place higher up the Derwent.

An adverse wind on the 24th prevented any movement of the sloop up the river, but the day was marked by one incident of definite interest. Flinders ascended Mt. Direction, and measured an extensive set of angles, thus strengthening the survey of the river which he was making. The explorer obtained a good view of the surrounding country, and could trace the course of the river for nearly ten miles above his station. Looking out from that altitude he could see into Frederick Henry Bay, so recently visited, while Betsey's Island, on which he had stood three days before, was a well-defined object. Some day, perhaps, a suitable obelisk will be raised on this conspicuous mountain-top to mark a spot so fixedly associated with him, or on Betsey's Island, near the entrance of the river of which he was the first to make a systematic survey.

On Christmas Day Flinders managed to get the sloop up to an inlet which he called Herdsman's Cove. This is the mouth of the Jordan River, but it received the former name from the pastoral appearance of the surrounding country, which was thought capable of supporting larger herds of cattle. It had been noticed from the top of Mt. Direction, as well as the welcome fact that there were many swans on the inlet. Herdsman's Cove appears to be the Sanders River of Hayes, shown on his sketch as being higher up the Derwent. Flinders searched for this

river in vain in the place there indicated. For Bass the day must have been a strenuous one. Flinders' record runs as follows: "I carried the survey up the river, whilst Mr. Bass ascended the great Mount Table, on the western side." It is difficult to accept this statement literally, as meaning that Bass, intrepid as he was, actually reached the top of Mt. Wellington, the point now known as The Pinnacle. If he did so it was a feat of outstanding excellence, under the conditions of that time. The prospect presented to the view of an observer at the top of this mountain is one that surpasses in its extent and sublimity any other to be found either in Tasmania or Australia. Land, rivers and gulfs, mountain ranges and ocean, have combined to form such a magnificent display as to fill the mind with its beauty and with wonder at the forceful working of nature. And yet Bass, in his account of the voyage, does not refer to that wide panorama, so full of promise as an explorer would see it, nor does he even mention the excursion. It seems probable that he made, on this occasion, one of the many trips into the interior that he loved to undertake, accompanied by his dogs, whenever an opportunity occurred, and succeeded in reaching the top of one of the ranges forming part of the mountain mass. The Christmas fare of the voyagers on that day was provided by swans, and luckily large numbers of these birds were met with on the Derwent above Mt. Direction. One flock seen about three miles from Herdsman's Cove was estimated to contain not less than five hundred. The Cove proved an indifferent watering-place, though it was explored for two miles. A return to Risdon therefore became necessary, for the sloop could not be taken higher up the Derwent, but before leaving a day was spent on a boat journey beyond the Cove. This expedition reached a point about two miles below the present site of New Norfolk.

On the way up the river the explorers had their sole opportunity of communicating with any of the natives of the country. Collins has given Bass's report of this interview:

"A human voice saluted them from the hills, on which they landed, carrying with them one of several swans which they had just shot. Having nearly reached the summit, two females, with a short covering hanging loose from their shoulders, suddenly appeared at some little distance before them, but snatching up each a small basket these scampered off. A man then presented himself, and suffered them to approach him without any signs of fear or distrust. He received the swan joyfully, appearing to esteem it a treasure. His language was unintelligible to them, as theirs to him, although they addressed him in several of the dialects of New South Wales. With some difficulty they made him comprehend their wish to see his place of residence,

SECTION 2
From a Manuscript Chart (reduced) in Hydrographic Dept., Admiralty

Low Head
fresh water Lagoon
Low Sandy Shore
Outer Cove
Middle Rock
Green I.
Pt Roundabout
Deceitful Cove
Obsd. Lat: 41 8 10
Shag Rock
Western Arm
Inspection Hd
Middle
fresh water
Middle Hd.
Middle Arm
Pt. Rapid
Geographic miles

SECTION 3
Compiled from Capt. Flinder's Chart of V.D.L. and his narratives.

148°
Oyster B.
Maria I.
Heads mans Cove
fresh
Risdon Cove
Derwent River
Frederick Henry Bay
Ref Cove
Lo
Stoney I.
Pt Lewis
Betsey's I
43°
Fairlies Cove
Pruens Cove
Jan.y 31st 1799
Dec.r 1798
14th
C. Basaltes
C. Pillar
Adamsons Harbour
Pt Scott
Adventure Bay
Penguin I
Taylors B.
Storm Bay Passage
Courts Is Friars
Tasmans Head

SKETCH
Showing Course of Sloop NORFOLK
M. Flinders, 2nd Lt H.M.S. Reliance
1798–1799

Port Dalrymple
on the north coast of
Van Diemens Land
as surveyed in the Norfolk sloop
by M. Flinders
2nd Lieut of H.M.S. Reliance
Nov.r & Dec.r 1798

Tas. 40 Leagues
Cape Barren Island
Rocky Point
Rapid
Passage Islands
Lon. 148.26Z
Cape Barren Island
Cape Franklin
Clarkes Island
Sandy Pt
Stoney Pt
Seal Rocks
Sandy Bay
Battery Pt
Sandy shoals
Hamiltons Cove
Ship Wrecked
Lookout Rock
Brush I.
One tree Pt.
Whirlpool Reach
Egg I.
Swan Pt.
fresh water
Double Rock
Night I.

SECTION I
From a Manuscript Chart (reduced) in Hydrographic Dept. Admiralty

The southernmost of
Furneaux's Islands
by M. Flinders
2 lieut. of H.M.S. Reliance

Kent's Bay and many of the soundings were furnished by Mr R. Simpson of the snow Nautilus. track of the ship Sydney Cove from Bengal when water-logged and looking out for a place to run on shore at.

He pointed over the hill, and proceeded onwards, but his pace was slow and wandering, and he often stopped under pretence of having lost the track, which led them to suspect that his only aim was to amuse and tire them out. Afraid of losing the remaining part of the flood tide, they parted from him in great friendship. He was a short slight man, of middle age, with a countenance more expressive of benignity and intelligence than of that ferocity or stupidity which generally characterized the other natives. His face was blackened, and the top of his head was plastered with red earth. His hair was either naturally short and close, or had been rendered so by burning, and although short and stiffly curled they did not think it woolly. He was armed with two spears, very ill-made, of solid wood. No part of their dress attracted his attention, except the red silk handkerchiefs round their necks. Their firearms were to him objects neither of curiosity nor fear."

"This was the first man they had spoken with in Van Diemen's Land, and his frank and open deportment led them not only to form a favourable opinion of the disposition of its inhabitants, but to conjecture that if the country was peopled in the usual numbers, he would not have been the only one they should have met. A circumstance which corroborated this supposition was, that in the excursions made by Mr. Bass into the country, having seldom any other society than his two dogs, he would have been no great object of dread to a people ignorant of the effects of fire-arms, and would certainly have been hailed by anyone who might have seen him. They fell in with many huts along the different shores of the river, of the same bad construction as those of Port Dalrymple, but with fewer heaps of muscle-shells lying near them. The natives of this place probably drew the principle part of their food from the woods ; the bones of small animals, such as opossums, squirrels, kangaroo-rats, and bandicoots, were numerous round their deserted fire-places ; and the two spears which they saw in the hands of the man were similar to those used for hunting in other parts. No canoes were ever seen, nor any trees so barked as to answer that purpose. Besides the small quadrupeds already mentioned, they observed the grey and red kangaroo. The feathered tribes were apparently similar to those of Port Dalrymple. Here again they daily eat their swan, the flocks of which even exceeded those that they had before met with."

Bass was, on the whole, favourably impressed with Tasmania. He had seen on the island a considerable amount of sterile country, but he had also noted areas which seemed to him to offer great opportunities for development. Naturally he contrasted these with those that he had travelled over in New South Wales, which, with few exceptions, were hardly representative of the general character of the parent state. But at that period, with the Blue Mountains still unconquered, the outlying settlements of Port Jackson were like a group of small habitable islands in a great sea of waste waters. Hemmed in between a

mountain barrier and the coast and surrounded by so much poor country, rapid growth was an impossibility for the occupants of the small patches of better class land where alone men could extract a living from the soil. The vast areas of pastoral, agricultural and irrigable country, lying outside that difficult coastal fringe, belonged still to the unknown world.

That Bass's hopeful estimate concerning Tasmania carried weight in high quarters is shown by a statement made by Flinders in his second narrative, when describing the visit of the *Norfolk* to the Derwent River.

"The publication of Mr. Bass's remarks upon the soil and productions of this part of Van Diemen's Land dispenses me from entering upon those subjects; it is sufficient to say, that the reports of them were so favourable as to induce the establishment of a colony on the banks of the Derwent four years afterwards."

Another and important consideration entered into the scheme for the settlement at Risdon in 1803, but Bass's share in the event, which thus brought his name into closer association with the southern waters of the island state that is generally appreciated, ought not to be overlooked.

After his boat journey Flinders moved down to Risdon Cove, where he was able to fill up his water-casks, owing to the late rains having increased the stream running into the head of the inlet. On the last day of the year he started on the homeward journey, anchoring on the way in a bay above Rosny Point, probably Lindisfarne. Did Flinders, on the following day, when tacking down the river past Sullivan's Cove, where it opens out into a broad expanse of sheltered water, consider its possibilities as a harbour? It is difficult to believe that he did not do so, but no expression of opinion escaped into his early account. Perhaps that extensive area was laid out on too large a scale to appear to offer a practical site for a secure port to serve the surrounding country. Moreover, the presence of a permanent water supply was hidden from his view.

When the mouth of the estuary was reached on the 2nd of January, the navigator found it advisable, on account of a foul wind, to run into the Channel, called by him Storm Bay Passage. He anchored in Oyster Cove, the Port Pruen of Hayes, and signs of that sailor's visit were found. On the following morning, four days after the allotted twelve weeks for the full journey had expired, a fair wind allowed a good start to be made.

"It was not without regret", Flinders records, "that I was obliged to leave this interesting part of Van Diemen's Land so imperfectly examined. Of the Storm Bay Passage we saw nothing except the

northern entrance, and the western part of Adventure Bay Island was not landed upon. We weighed, and having turned out of the Storm Bay Passage, hoisted in our boat and stood over to Quoin Island, intending to keep close round the south end of what has hitherto been called the Maria Islands, tho' why Tasman called this body of land islands, or whether this is certainly the same that he so named, I cannot tell, not having his Voyage. At noon the high mountain, (*Mt. Wellington*), on the west side of the Derwent, bore N. 52° W. This mountain, by being visible at almost every station, was very serviceable in connecting the different parts of the bay and river together."

Not being aware that Cape Raoul had already received that name, Flinders called it Cape Basaltes, from its appearance and from the stone of which he thought its columns were composed. When passing the bay between that imposing headland and Cape Pillar the explorer gave an instance of his gift of " seeing round the corner ". Looking into the deep opening now called Port Arthur, he seemed to visualize its hidden formation, but his description, though informative, is cautious :

" A ship that was taken with a southerly wind between these capes, and unable to clear either, need not yet give herself up. If the lump of land in the bay, which is probably an island, would not afford shelter, the head of the bay possibly might, and it may perhaps furnish a good harbour."

Flinders' estimate of the existing conditions was correct.

Except for one incident the run up the east coast was not marked in any special way. Noticing the " high round mountain " noted by Tasman as he left the land on 5th December 1642, the northernmost feature seen by him on the east, as Heemskerk was on the west coast, Flinders called it Tasman's Peak. This name has not survived, and it is now known as St. Paul's Dome. Flinders regretted that the wind he experienced, the short time at his disposal, and lack of provisions, prevented him from keeping close in on this coast, since Furneaux's examination of it had been made at too great a distance to be exact. Little could be noted till the sloop arrived off Cape Barren. Attempting to pass between the island of that name and Flinders' Island, the *Norfolk* nearly suffered shipwreck at the entrance of that dangerous channel. It was only by a providential change of wind that she was extricated from her critical position. A call was made at the Babel Isles, so named by Flinders from the confusion of sounds made by their feathered inhabitants, each species " using its own language ", and occupying its own district with a maximum of noisy chatter, while herds of seals proudly maintained their rights to those parts of the seashore that suited them. Bass landed on one of the islets, and brought off

a boat-load of seals and gannets. On the 12th of January the sloop was laid alongside the *Reliance* in Sydney Cove, only two weeks overdue.

We have followed this voyage somewhat closely, because it forms an historical climax in the development of geographical knowledge concerning Tasmania. Under the hands of the two friends whose combined efforts had wrought so much the island had at last been forced to disclose its true form and its correct relation with regard to the mainland of Australia. Many details remained to be filled in, and many years were to pass before all these necessary additions found their way into the nautical charts of the country with anything approaching completeness, but the work begun by Tasman might now be said to have received its coping-stone.

After the voyage of the *Norfolk* Flinders and Bass passed on to other undertakings. One pleasing ceremony, however, had yet to be performed, in order to set the final seal to its results. When recording this event, Flinders showed how highly he regarded his shipmate, and how strongly he desired that friend's great exploits should be properly appreciated.

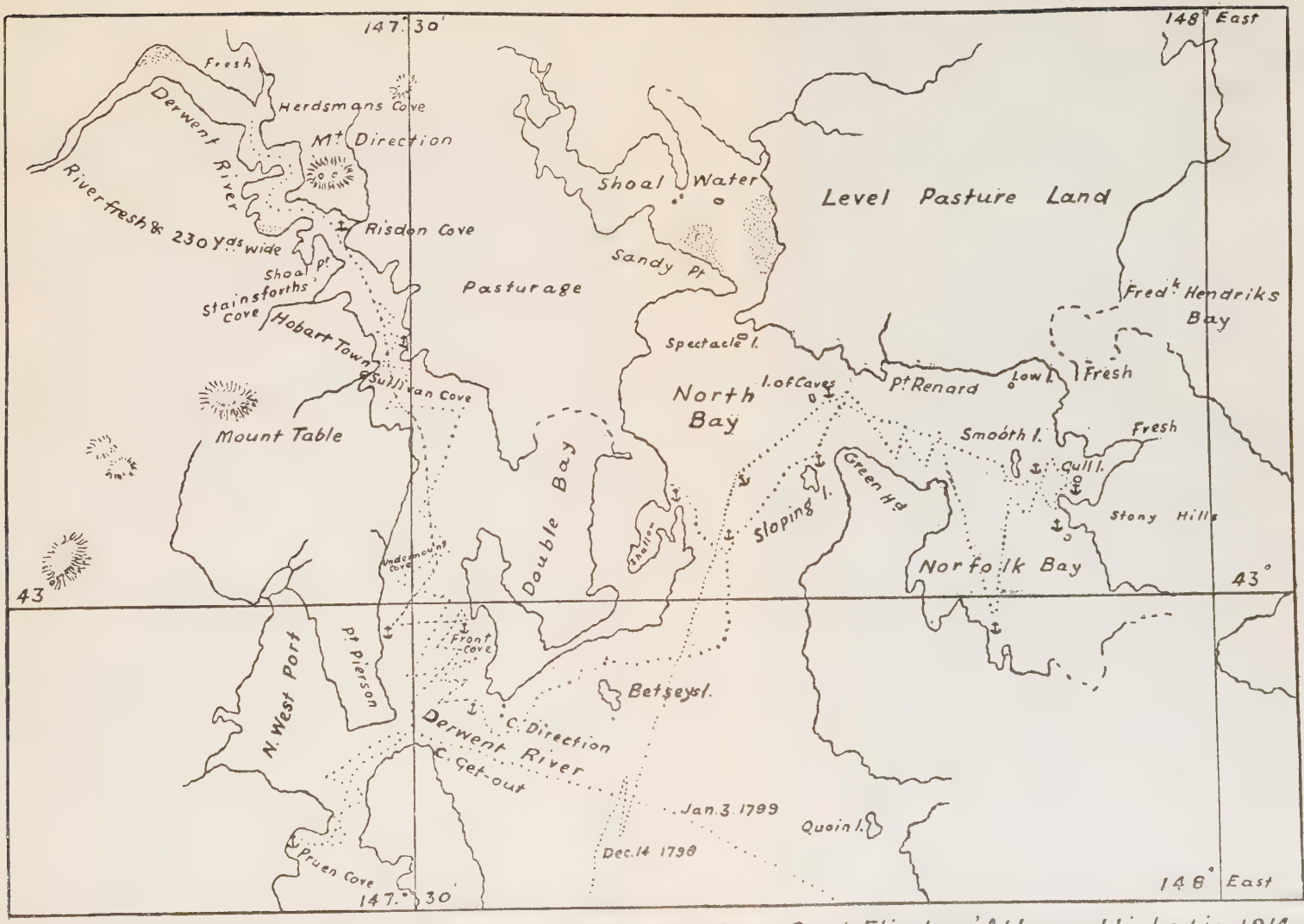
"To the strait which had been the great object of research and whose discovery was now completed, Governor Hunter gave, at my recommendation, the name of Bass' Strait. This was no more than a just tribute to my worthy friend and companion, for the extreme dangers and fatigues he had undergone in first entering it in the whale boat."

And again:

"The south westerly swell which rolled in upon the shores of Western Port and its neighbourhood sufficiently indicated to the penetrating Bass that he was exposed to the Southern Indian Ocean. This opinion, which he constantly asserted, was the principal cause of my services being offered to the Governor to ascertain the certainty of it, and it was with great satisfaction that I was able to associate him in the expedition."

To Governor Hunter this act of authority must have been specially pleasing. He had always suspected the existence of a strait, and it now fell to his lot to reward the discoverer. A claim was afterwards made on Hunter's behalf that to him was due the chief credit for the results obtained by Bass and Flinders, because he initiated the expeditions which led up to them. This claim was lacking in support, but his real share must not be underrated, for without his approval and active help, the voyages could not have been made. The Governor also bestowed names on several other important physical features of Tasmania charted by Flinders, namely, Cape Portland, Waterhouse Island, Port Dalrymple, and Cape St. Vincent.

PLATE II



SKETCH showing route of NORFOLK, 1798-1799, from Capt. Flinders' Atlas published in 1814

CHAPTER XIII

POLITICAL AND OTHER EVENTS, 1799–1801, INCLUDING THE DISCOVERY OF PORT PHILLIP

IT is necessary here to give attention to the early results of the discoveries made by Flinders and Bass, and to take a rapid survey of certain events and administrative changes which took place at that period, that is, during the period 1799 to 1801. These movements, in fact, fill up a gap which occurred between the voyage of the *Norfolk* and any further advance in geographical knowledge affecting Tasmania.

As early as May 1798, the necessity for an extensive exploration of Australia was urged by Sir Joseph Banks upon the Home authorities. Busy as Banks always was with his many interests he was ever ready to suggest or to help forward any projects that might benefit New South Wales. It appeared to him impossible that so vast a country as Australia could be lacking in large navigable rivers, and his scheme on this occasion was that a small vessel of 30 tons should be built in the colony, that Flinders, " his countryman, a man of activity and information ", should be placed in charge of it, and that Mungo Park, the African traveller, who was then in England, should conduct an exploring expedition along such waterways as could be found. It will be noted that when Banks was penning this early commendation of Flinders as a navigator, the latter had already proved himself well qualified to be entrusted with the sole command in an expedition of that nature.

For some unexplained reason Banks' proposal did not come to a head, but it probably led up to a scheme which took shape the following year. It had already been arranged that two armed ships, the *Buffalo* and the *Porpoise*, should be sent out to Port Jackson to be used on colonial service, and the *Buffalo* arrived there in May 1799. In addition a 60-ton cutter of a new design was taken over from the Transport Board of the Admiralty, her rig being changed to that of a brig, and she was then equipped to take her place in the colonial service as a surveying vessel. This little craft was named the *Lady Nelson*, and her unusual

construction consisted in this, that she was built with three sliding-keels, or to use the modern term, "centre-boards". This novel idea was due to Captain Schank, R.N., one of the Commissioners of the Transport Board, and the *Lady Nelson* was the third of three vessels built according to this design for the service of the home Government.

Lieutenant-Governor P. G. King, R.N., who had returned from Norfolk Island to England in 1797, on sick leave, being sufficiently recovered in health to take up duty again, received instructions to embark in the *Porpoise.* Fortunately for him and his family, who were returning to Australia with him, it was discovered soon after their departure from England that this ship, which had also been constructed on unusual lines, was quite unfit for ocean voyages in southern seas. She therefore returned to port and was later on replaced by a Spanish prize, recently built and well suited for colonial service. This ship was renamed the *Porpoise.*

Banks' persevering efforts on behalf of the Colony were now having some reward in certain directions, but his persistence in endeavouring to stimulate those of busy officials made many severe calls on his patience. Most of the colonial events of 1799 and 1800 are more intimately connected with the history of New South Wales than with that of Tasmania, but some of them had their effect on the development of the island state and therefore call for notice. Banks in London and Hunter in Sydney were compelled to face, each in his own sphere, circumstances prejudicial to their desires for the welfare and progress of the settlements centred at Port Jackson. There is a picture presented by Banks in a letter to Hunter in 1799 which shows the aloofness of Government circles from colonial affairs:

"You have been very friendly in writing to me the very particular account I have received from you of the state of things in your colony. I grieve to observe that matters go on so ill, and I am mortified that so little has been done towards putting you more at your (ease); but be assured that the situation of Europe is at present so critical, and His Majesty's Ministers so fully employed in business of the deepest importance, that it is scarce possible to gain a moment's audience on any subject but those that stand foremost in their minds, and colonies of all kinds, you may be assured, are now put into the background. Persevere, however, my good sir, in the manly, honest and open conduct you have hitherto held, and you must in time prevail. Your colony is already a most valuable appendage to Great Britain, and I flatter myself we shall before it is long see her Ministers made sensible of its real value."

Hunter, indeed, needed some encouragement. His troubles

found expression in many of his dispatches to the Colonial Office. A letter written in 1799 to a friend in England indicates very clearly that a sense of his failure to overcome them had begun to possess him, though he was not one to admit at any time that blame for non-success could be laid at his door:

"The fatigue to which the Governor of this territory must submit, both mental and corporeal, is far beyond any idea you can have of the nature of his duty rendering such fatigue necessary in the Commander-in-Chief. . . . I have struggled on under every possible difficulty, and as it has pleased God to give me health and strength equal to my zeal, I will continue to hope that I may be able to act in such way as may give satisfaction. When my health and strength begin to decline I will then decline my present office, and endeavour to obtain His Majesty's permission to do so; until that time I will persevere in my best exertions for conquering every difficulty, whether they be natural or artificial ones, of which last kind we have too many people in this colony disposed to create all they can."

The Governor's difficulties began soon after his arrival in Sydney, and they owed their origin, not to those classes of the community which he had been sent from England to govern, but to the very people from whom he had every right to expect loyal assistance in his work of control. There had gradually grown up amongst the officers of the New South Wales Corps a creed that they were entitled to exploit the position in which they found themselves for their own personal gain and advantage. They saw before them possibilities to get rich quickly, and the grants of land made to them contributed not a little to the attainment of their desires. This process, had it been carried on with discretion and reserve, and without prejudice to their official duties, was quite a legitimate one, but it proved too slow to suit their aspirations, with the result that they cast about for other means to make money. Unfortunately the plan hit upon was one which violated the rules of military service. It consisted in carrying on a system of barter in commodities, including liquor, with the civil community and the small settlers in the colony. This traffic was open to great abuse, and there can be no doubt that it was so abused. At one time Governor Hunter thought that such trading, conducted fairly and without profiteering, might be of advantage to the poorer settlers, and gave it his official sanction, failing to foresee how the power he thus placed in the hands of the officers would lead to abuse. In effect the New South Wales Corps, in conjunction with certain of the leading inhabitants, became a licensed trading corporation, and its articles of association show how it closed its ranks against outside competition. This act of Hunter, the chief blot on his

administration as the autocratic head of the colony, was necessarily condemned by the home authorities. Portland, however, as Administrator of the Colonies, cannot escape blame. He did not realize the Governor's isolation in his efforts to check abuse, or the strength of the party opposed to such measures, and therefore failed to go to the root of the matter. A complete transfer of the Corps to another station would have saved others than Hunter from many troubles, and the early history of the colony would probably have taken on a happier, if less dramatic, form. Portland emphatically condemned the system of trade that had crept in, and considered that such proceedings were a disgrace to His Majesty's service in the persons of several of the officers of the Corps. It is indeed strange that military officers, keenly punctilious about the honour of their regiment, and about their personal honour, failed to see the dishonourable nature of their behaviour. In another direction the Corps created embarrassment for Hunter. There had grown up in it, dating from the time when Colonel Grose was in temporary command of the colony, an impression that to some extent it was an independent body, not absolutely under the Governor's jurisdiction, and therefore justified in allowing itself considerable liberty of action. The fact that Hunter was a naval officer contributed to this narrow view, but the attitude was one that persisted till the regiment was removed from Australia.

Out of all this welter of intrigue, jealousy and scrambling for wealth there was emerging one figure demanding and receiving an increasing amount of attention. It was that of John Macarthur, Captain in the New South Wales Corps. Obstinate, pugnacious and tenacious in nature, there was a something in him that bears a faint resemblance to Cecil Rhodes, though he was far indeed from possessing the moral stature or the Imperial grandeur of the "Colossus". Arrogant and haughty in his bearing, he could be a bitter foe to those who failed to agree with his views of right and wrong, of administration and public policy. It would be difficult to estimate the extent to which his regiment relied in the conduct of its wordly affairs on this masterful character. To the Governor he was a thorn in the flesh, and an illustration of his boldness is furnished by a letter addressed to Portland, exactly a year after Hunter assumed command, denouncing that officer's agricultural policy, and setting forth his own views on the subject. This dispatch, prompted by self-interest, was also an assertion of his own capacity as a farmer. Macarthur was severely censured for his conduct and his errors of that period, but he was, in truth, finding his true vocation, that of a woolgrower and trader. The time was approaching

when the results of the experiments he was then making in sheep-breeding were to bear good fruit, financial success and prosperity for himself, and development on sound lines of wool production in New South Wales and Tasmania. In due time he was to receive well-deserved credit and renown for his work as the chief pioneer in the breeding of merino sheep in Australia, and as a preacher of the doctrine that that country could eventually supply the British Empire with fine wool.

When the first *Porpoise* left England and had to return to port, being replaced by a more suitable vessel, other means of conveyance to Australia had to be found for Captain King. He travelled out in a whaler and arrived at Port Jackson in April 1800. He carried with him not only a dormant commission as Lieutenant-Governor, but the knowledge that he was presently to assume chief command in New South Wales. For Portland had decided to recall Hunter, the chief reason for this action being the Governor's failure to suppress the traffic in spirits carried on by the officers of the Corps. In this decision the English Minister was hardly fair to Hunter, failing to appreciate, as ministers sometimes do, the difficulties of "the man on the spot". Colonel Paterson, the Commandant of the N.S.W. Corps, who had been on leave in England, had preceded King, having arrived in Sydney in November 1799. The instructions he had received from the Commander-in-Chief before he left England showed in unmistakable language how the traffic in spirits and other articles was regarded at the Horse Guards. Such proceedings were held to be "pernicious to His Majesty's service and injurious to the character of a British officer". Portland's dispatch recalling Hunter was dated 5th November 1799, and by it he was instructed to return to England by the first safe conveyance which offered after the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor King. Hunter felt this blow bitterly, and resented it as an unjust condemnation of his capacity and character. Suffering from deeply hurt feelings he found it impossible to remain on good terms with King during the interval that elapsed before he finally handed over the reins of government in September 1800. He travelled home in the *Buffalo*, and with him went, under arrest, his aide-de-camp, the oldest captain of the Corps, charged with the comparatively mild offence of selling to a sergeant of his company a gallon of spirits for twenty-four shillings for which he had paid ten shillings.

We have seen how ready Hunter was at all times to give his assistance to any schemes of exploration. His successor, King, was no less eager to do everything in his power for the increase of geographical knowledge. He was possessed of a wider outlook

than the Governor whom he displaced, due, no doubt, partly to the influence of Sir Joseph Banks, whose enthusiasm for the colony strongly infected those of his disciples who were connected with it, and, secondly, to his own mental vigour and vivid appreciation of the importance to the Empire of the territory under his command. It fell to his lot to build upon the good work recently accomplished, and to show, when the time came, that he could act boldly and energetically in an assertion of the interests of his country.

It will be convenient here to follow Flinders' movements after the voyage of the *Norfolk* and up to the time when, as Commander of the *Investigator*, he set out for Australia to circumnavigate that continent and thus, by his new discoveries, to weld together as one finished piece of constructive work his own contributions to geographical knowledge and those of his predecessors. Bass's career as an explorer was over. Soon after the *Norfolk* voyage came to an end he was allowed to give up his position as surgeon of the *Reliance* and to return to England. He left the Navy to take up commercial enterprise again. It will be remarked to how great an extent the chief maritime events that occurred between the circumnavigation of Tasmania and its occupation in 1803 and 1804, all more or less independent of each other, became linked up with the strait discovered by Bass, which grew to be the central feature, as it were, in a pattern woven from a set of different materials.

The success which had attended the trip of the *Norfolk* led to another expedition. As the *Reliance* was not required for immediate service Governor Hunter permitted Flinders in July 1799 to take the *Norfolk* northwards to explore the coast, and principally to make investigations of the two openings named by Cook Glass-house Bay and Hervey's Bay. Six weeks' leave of absence were granted to Flinders, and his young brother Samuel, a midshipman of the *Reliance*, was allowed to accompany him. The results of the expedition were disappointing, but this was not surprising. The time-limit, the season of the year, and the complicated nature of the bays visited, were sufficient to prevent any great success, and to add to these difficulties the sloop sprang a leak which caused delay.

Early in 1800 Governor Hunter ordered Captain Waterhouse to take the *Reliance* back to England. She was in a very weak condition and had been a great source of expense owing to repairs, and of little benefit to the colony as a transport. The ship left Sydney in March and arrived in England in August. She sailed round the Horn, and came into port in such a leaky condition that she was making nine or ten inches of water per hour,

while her hull, deck and spars were in a deplorable state. Navigators in those days were sometimes compelled to take sporting risks with defective ships, and we cannot but admire the good seamanship and the loyalty to their service which enabled commanders and officers to bring such broken-down old stagers safely into harbour, whatever our opinions may be concerning those responsible for sending them to sea. On his arrival in England Flinders' first care was the publication of charts of the new discoveries, and in 1801 he brought out his first work, *Observations on the Coasts of Van Diemen's Land, on Bass's Strait and its Islands, and on part of the Coasts of New South Wales, Intended to accompany the Charts of the late Discoveries in those Countries.* The contents of this little book were afterwards incorporated in his greater work, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, published in 1814, but they have a value of their own as first impressions of the coasts visited.

Flinders was now deeply engaged in a far more ambitious scheme than any of those that had hitherto driven him along the paths of discovery. This was no less than the survey of the still unknown parts of the Australian coast and of Bass Strait, and the re-survey of certain sections only partially charted, notably the north-east area of the Continent and the Great Barrier Reef.

"A plan", he tells us, "was proposed to the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks for completing the investigation of the coasts of Terra Australis. The plan was approved by that distinguished patron of science and useful enterprise; it was laid before Earl Spencer, then first Commissioner of the Admiralty; and finally received the sanction of His Majesty who was graciously pleased to direct that the voyage should be undertaken; and I had the honour of being appointed to the command."

In January 1801, Flinders received a commission appointing him Lieutenant of H.M. sloop *Investigator*, 334 tons, the vessel selected, and apparently well suited for his expedition, and in the following month he was promoted to the rank of Commander. He threw himself into the business of equipment, and had no reason to be dissatisfied with the generous response made by officials to his numerous demands. For Flinders was now a man of mark, and he was backed, moreover, by Banks, into whose circle of philosophers he was received with full appreciation of his quality. Officers and men to take part in the enterprise were chosen with the greatest care, and Banks did his best to secure qualified men for the supplementary scientific side of its activities. Included in the little community were two persons who were destined, each in his own special sphere, to attain to world-wide renown. These were John Franklin, midshipman,

and Robert Brown, botanist, and to each of them Tasmania supplied, at later dates, a field for their labours.

The Directors of the East India Company made a donation of £600 towards the outfit of the officers and of the men of science, and a similar sum was promised to them, to be paid at the end of the voyage. The motive for this liberality on the part of the Company was purely commercial, and Flinders put the case very neatly when describing it:

"The expense to officers of an outfit for several years was much alleviated by the liberality of the Hon. East India Company. The sum of £600 was ordered by the Court of Directors to be paid as an allowance to the men of science, to the officers of the ship, and myself, for our tables; and the same sum to be given at the conclusion of the voyage. This allowance the directors were pleased to make, from the voyage being within the limits of the Company's charter, from the expectation of our examinations and discoveries proving advantageous to their commerce and the eastern navigation, and partly, as they said, to my former services."

The Company held decidedly monopolistic views about Australian trade, and this contribution was no doubt regarded by the Directors as expenditure on advertisement of its control. Copies of every chart at the Admiralty relating to Australia and the neighbouring islands were prepared by the Hydrographer for the explorers, and it is important to note that these included outlines of the charts of the D'Entrecasteaux expedition. Flinders was married to Miss Ann Chappell in April and set sail for Australia on 18th July 1801.

It is now necessary to return to the time when, in 1799, Flinders and Bass announced the results of their voyage in the *Norfolk*, in order that we may examine the first-fruits of their success. The first vessel to make use of Bass Strait after its discovery was thus confirmed appears to have been the *Martha*, a schooner sent out from Port Jackson on a sealing expedition. To Mr. Reid, her master, belongs the honour of discovering the island afterwards called King Island. It is probable that he passed on to Albatross Island, attracted by the reports of its innumerable seals, and should therefore have the credit of being the first sailor to pass through the strait after the explorers. Before he returned to England in the *Reliance* Flinders had received an account of the discovery by Reid of the south part of King Island, and he therefore indicated its existence by a broken line on his chart (Plate 9). The excursion of the *Martha* into the western area of the strait prepared the way for other "speculations", sent forth on similar errands.

The first vessel to pass through the strait on a voyage from

England to Sydney was the *Lady Nelson*. This brig was placed under the command of Lieutenant James Grant, R.N., who received instructions to sail with a fleet of East Indiamen, to which the *Porpoise* was also attached, for convoy purposes through the danger zone in European waters. Owing to her shallow draught and three centre-boards the little surveying ship seemed well adapted for the colonial service. She was well fitted out for the voyage, and Grant was much pleased with his position and prospects. In a long letter to Banks he described the special qualities of the brig, her liberal equipment, his strong desire to emulate the deeds of earlier navigators, and his hope to be included amongst those whom Banks honoured with his notice.

It was intended that the *Lady Nelson* should proceed to Sydney by the usual route, that is, by way of the Cape and round the south coast of Tasmania. Grant received from Portland an open letter to the Governor of New South Wales, dated 26th February 1800, containing lengthy instructions regarding the manner in which future coastal surveys were to be conducted after the brig arrived at Port Jackson. Particular attention was directed to the advantages to be derived from any strait that might be found to exist between Tasmania and the mainland. Now the *Norfolk* returned to Sydney on the 12th January 1799, and yet, thirteen months later, news concerning Bass Strait had not been received in London. Why was that so? Hunter apparently did not think it worth his while to report the new discovery till the 15th August 1799, when he mentioned the matter casually in a postcript of a letter to Nepean, the Secretary of the Admiralty. We know that he was interested in the discovery, nevertheless he allowed seven months to pass by before making any reference to it. It may be that he was waiting for Flinders to complete "the copy of the rough survey" which he eventually forwarded to the Admiralty, but one would expect that he would at least have made some comment on such an event in one of his earlier dispatches. Grant left England on 18th March 1800, and soon lost touch with the convoy. When he reached the Cape he found a letter awaiting his arrival. This had been left by Governor King, and contained advice which that considerate officer thought useful for a young navigator on his first voyage to the southern seas. But a more stirring dispatch, which had followed him from England, presently came to hand. It was an intimation from Portland, written on the 8th April, concerning the newly-discovered Strait, and instructed Grant to take the *Lady Nelson* through that passage. He was ordered to survey the coast line in accordance with the plan laid down for such operations in the open letter

he was carrying out to King. He was thus given an opportunity for the performance of original work that an ambitious officer would seize upon with ardour. A piece of absolutely unknown coast west of Bass's discovery, Western Port, was awaiting investigation.

Unfortunately the Commander of the *Lady Nelson*, though a good navigator, lacked the training and rather special fervour and inspiration needed for such work, and was incapable of applying to it the " Flinders touch ". He made his land-fall on 3rd December 1800, near the present dividing line between Victoria and South Australia. Moving along the coast he drew a faulty and inadequate eye-sketch of its principal features, and gave them names. Of these the most important was Cape Otway, called by him Cape Albany Otway, after a naval friend. Attempts were made to land at various places in order to obtain information about the country, but none of these were successful. When Grant passed Cape Otway and thus entered the strait he refrained from following the coast line, but stood eastward towards Wilson's Promontory. He thus left a lengthy piece of coast unvisited, and missed the chance that might have been his of discovering Port Phillip. The *Lady Nelson* arrived in Sydney on 16th December 1800, after a run of seventy days from the Cape.

Following closely on the heels of Grant there came to Port Jackson two trading vessels, each of which contributed something to knowledge concerning Bass Strait. The first of these was the brig *Harbinger*, 56 tons, from the Cape. Her Commander, John Black, was described by King as " a person of good abilities as a surveyor and navigator ". He made the land near Cape Otway, worked to the south, where he fell in with and named King Island after the Governor, and then continued his voyage through the middle of the strait to Sydney, arriving there in January 1801. The visit of the *Harbinger* to King Island is recorded on present-day charts, her name having been given to some rocks lying off its north coast. The second vessel, the brig *Margaret*, Captain Buyers, came from England. She reached the coast near Grant's land-fall, but was driven to the south, and, after sighting King Island, passed on to Sydney through Banks Strait, arriving in February. The tracks followed by these two ships found their way into the charts of the period, and in conjunction with that of the *Lady Nelson* defined pretty clearly the western gateway of the strait. East and west, except for needed refinement of detail and revision, the sea-passage had now become an open book, though it was one to be used with caution.

King was disappointed with the results of Grant's traverse of the Australian coast, and sent him back to the strait, with lengthy instructions on the work he desired to be carried out. The Governor's scheme was an ambitious one, too ambitious for a winter campaign; it embraced nautical surveys covering Wilson's Promontory, the Kent Group, Western Port, the two bays, one to the east and the other to the west of Cape Otway, and King Island. If Grant found he had time to spare he was directed to pass on to King George Sound and then survey the coast eastwards to Wilson's Promontory. The *Lady Nelson* was provisioned for six months, and to ensure success in its survey work, Ensign Barallier, of the New South Wales Corps, who possessed qualifications for such employment, joined the expedition as an assistant. George Caley, who was then collecting plants in New South Wales at the expense of Sir Joseph Banks, also embarked in the brig. The *Lady Nelson* left Sydney on the 8th March and returned to port on 14th May 1801. King's report of the trip in a dispatch to Portland expressed his sorrow that from unheard of bad weather Grant had not been able to execute the whole of the orders he sailed under, further than ascertaining Western Port to be a safe and commodious harbour, which, from its central position, would thereafter be of great utility to vessels meeting with foul weather when passing through the strait. The Governor had, in fact, foreseen the probability of the *Lady Nelson* meeting with bad weather in the winter season and had suggested places where she might seek shelter until exploring operations could be resumed. Her second voyage, therefore, came as a second blow to the Governor's hopes from her services, and it certainly brought about Grant's resignation in the following August. When accepting this and acceding to that officer's request for permission to return to Europe, King informed him that he would have been glad if his ability as a surveyor had been at all equal to his ability as an officer and a seaman.

Of the ships that sailed through Bass Strait in that year, 1801, there was one that attracts and holds our regard in a special manner, for she was bringing back its bold discoverer to Australia. This was the brig *Venus*, 140 tons, teak-built, copper-sheathed, a fast sailor, altogether "one of the most compleat, handsome and strong built ships, and suitable for any trade". When George Bass returned to England in 1799 he probably carried with him some scheme of building up either a home or local trade connected with the colony, or of engaging in the whale fishery in the southern seas and in New Guinea Waters. With over three years' experience in the settlement, such a keen observer was well acquainted

with the requirements of its inhabitants, and could therefore expect that as the colony developed he and his friends might have a share in its expanding commerce. The *Venus* was purchased by a small private company in September 1800, and sailed about April in the following year, with Bass as supercargo and managing owner. Before leaving England he married a sister of Captain Waterhouse, his former chief in the *Reliance*, and some of his relations became shareholders in the new venture. Writing from the Cape to his father-in-law he described the cargo for Port Jackson as one of the most complete that was ever carried there, the brig as deep as she could swim and as full as an egg. But the bright outlook was much darkened by news of late changes in the colony.

The new route was followed by the *Venus*. "We came through Bass's Strait, and found a good and perfectly safe passage." It was the merchant ship-owner, considering the welfare of his property, who wrote these words a few days later in Sydney, not the explorer, intent on solving a geographical problem. Unfortunately the merchant had brought his wares to a bad market. Sydney was "glutted with goods beyond all comparison". Moreover the new system of trading introduced by King prevented open exchange except under severe restrictions as to profits. The Governor was inexorable, and refused to purchase Bass's cargo for public purposes, but assisted him to the extent of entering into an agreement whereby the *Venus*, after the discharge of her cargo into a Goverment store for safe-keeping and free of rent, went off to Tahiti, there to buy pigs and turn them into pork for colonial use, for there was a great shortage of meat foods that year. Hoping for better times to come and to keep the ship employed, Bass and his captain, who was also a shareholder in the concern, were compelled to accept this proposal, though it meant a serious set-back to their original plans and expectations of success.

Lieutenant Grant's resignation of his position as Commander of the *Lady Nelson* enabled Governor King to appoint John Murray as Acting-Lieutenant in charge of that vessel. The selection was a happy one, as Murray, who had been Master's Mate on the *Porpoise* and had accompanied Grant on his short trip to Western Port, proved to be an officer who could be depended upon to carry out instructions. Although not a nautical surveyor, he was capable of executing useful work. As the discoverer of Port Phillip his name is included in the honourable roll of those who have made the coast lines of Australia known to the world, and it enters into the maritime history of Tasmania for his preliminary survey of King Island.

In October 1801, the Governor directed Murray to take the *Lady Nelson* into Bass Strait, there to fill in some of the gaps in charts left vacant by previous operations. For some reason, perhaps because it seemed to hold out prospects of a harbour of refuge, King wished Kent's Group to be investigated. But his chief desire was knowledge about that bay (named by Grant, when he first ran through the strait, Governor King's Bay) lying to the east of Cape Otway. For the theory, first suggested by Dampier, still persisted at Port Jackson that there might be an extensive waterway running through New Holland from the Gulf of Carpentaria, and terminating somewhere in the still unknown south coast. The country seemed too big to consist of one undivided block of land. After traversing this bay as far as Cape Otway Murray was directed to make a survey of King Island, and to connect it with Hunter's Isles in the south. In this way it was hoped to obtain a fairly complete chart of the area forming the western gateway of Bass Strait.

Victualled and stored for six months, and with the summer season before him, Murray left Sydney on the 11th November 1801. Making for Kent's Group he found himself to the east of Flinders Island, and anchored for three days at a sealing station near the Babel Islands, known at that time to the people engaged in the industry as Diana Bay. Passing on to the Kent Group he made a survey of the channel through which the *Norfolk* had sailed in 1798, and on 6th December entered Western Port to obtain wood and water. Owing to gales the *Lady Nelson* was detained here till the 4th January 1802, and in the evening of that day, after running past Cape Schank, she arrived off the entrance of the great bay afterwards called Port Phillip. From the masthead Murray was able to see within its heads "a sheet of smooth water of great extent", but, owing to a wind blowing dead on the shore, he deemed it prudent to haul off, with the intention of returning later for further examination. Baffled by thick weather Murray was unable to trace the coast to Cape Otway. Seven days after leaving Port Phillip Heads the *Lady Nelson* anchored in Elephant Bay, on the east coast of King Island, so named from the sea-elephants seen there. On Elephant Rock, lying off the shore of this bay, Murray estimated that there were upwards of six thousand seals, while on the main island numbers of kangaroos, emus and badgers were seen. No traces of natives were recorded by Murray, nor did Flinders, who landed on the island a few months later, observe any. The island, close upon 430 square miles in area and well suited to support human life, was devoid of mankind, and this fact, in conjunction with the circumstances that the large islands of the Furneaux Group

were also uninhabited, proves how completely the aborigines of Tasmania were isolated and cut off from association with their neighbours on the mainland of Australia. Having traversed the north and east coast of King Island, and being prevented by bad weather from sailing round it, Murrray stood over to Three Hummock Island. Some knowledge of the area between Hunter's Isles and King Island was thus gained. On 30th January the *Lady Nelson* was back in Western Port ; continuous bad weather had thwarted her commander's efforts to carry out King's design, but even rough sea-track surveys were useful in those early days, when the main object was to open up the strait for safe navigation.

From Western Port Murray sent an armed boat to the westward, under the command of Bowen, his first mate, to investigate the entrance into the new harbour. Four days later it returned with the news that a good channel had been found with " a most noble sheet of water, with many fine coves in it, and the probability of rivers ; swans, pelicans and birds of various sorts were seen in great numbers ". On 14th February 1802, Murray sailed into the bay, and did not fail to record the well-known phenomenon which so often marks the entrance : " With a strong tide out and wind in, the ripple is such as to cause a stranger to suspect rock and shoal ahead." He named the expanse of water before him Port King, but the Governor, with nice feeling, afterwards corrected this to Port Phillip, " after my worthy and dear friend the Admiral, who until now has not had his name bestowed once on either stick or stone in the colony ". Twenty-four days were spent in the southern part of the bay, and attempts were made to carry out a rough survey of that area, but the boats were not in good condition, and the time slipped away without any great results being obtained. On the 8th March the ceremony of taking formal possession was performed, and on the 24th of that month the *Lady Nelson* arrived back in Sydney. King was well satisfied with Murray's work on this trip, and recommended him for promotion to the rank of Lieutenant in the Navy. The discovery of Port Phillip was fully appreciated by the Governor, for a situation affecting the whole of Bass Strait, and the lands facing it, was even then developing, and later, when the crisis in that situation arrived, he was enabled, from his knowledge of all the conditions, to act with decision and to pursue the course he believed to be best in the interests of the Empire.

When issuing his orders to Grant in October 1801, the Governor had concluded them in the following terms :

" Should you fall in with His Majesty's ship *Investigator*, you will

communicate these instructions to the commander of that ship, and put yourself under his command. And in case you fall in and are come up with by the *Naturalist* and *Geographe*, French vessels on discovery, you will produce your passport from His Grace the Duke of Portland to the commander of that expedition."

When he wrote those words King knew that Flinders was then engaged on exploring the southern coast of Australia, and that the *Investigator* might indeed arrive in Sydney at any moment. He had heard also of a French expedition, and was aware that it must have been carrying on work in Australian waters, but as yet he had no information concerning the areas that had been chosen for its activities. As the Commander-in-Chief of New South Wales, and with a state of warfare existing between Great Britain and France, he had to face the problem created by the presence in the territory under his charge of a scientific expedition conducted by the enemies of his country, and he had to consider the possibility that behind the published designs of that undertaking there might be some ulterior motive inimical to British interests.

The stirring events of that period revolve about the person of the Governor, but difficulties and dangers seemed to call forth the courage and capacity required to meet and overcome them. He was involved in an intensive and exhausting campaign against the dark forces that had nearly brought the colony to ruin, and had indeed succeeded in lowering its moral standard to a woeful degree. He was gradually bringing the New South Wales Corps into such a state of discipline as it had not known for years, and Macarthur, after an unsuccessful attempt to alienate the loyalty to his Chief of the Lieutenant-Governor, Colonel Paterson, had been sent to England under arrest as a result of a duel with that officer. King was also defeating the cold-blooded schemes and plots of those " exiles " from their country, the United Irishmen, always turbulent and mischief-making, and, perhaps the most difficult task of all, he was breaking down by firm measures the trade monopolies and extortionate barter that tended to make the many poor and the few rich. He was handicapped by the weight of these sordid affairs, that were draining his health away, and prevented from attending as he would have wished to do to the performance of those higher duties that might make for the betterment of the colony. It was well for the community that the moral fibre, the mental toughness and the tenacity of purpose of its Governor were such as enabled him to hold in check the human weaknesses of those who sought to embarrass him.

CHAPTER XIV

VOYAGE OF CAPTAIN BAUDIN, 1800–1804

ON the 19th October 1800, a French expedition left Havre, bound on a voyage of discovery to southern lands, the chief object being a scientific examination of the coasts of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land. The plan of campaign laid down for the Commander, Nicholas Baudin, naturally made the Isle of France an advanced base of operations, where, in addition to refitting the two ships to be employed, a small vessel suitable for shallow waters might be obtained to assist in the work of exploration. The itinerary to be followed after leaving the Isle of France shows the extensive nature of the proposed scheme, for it included D'Entrecasteaux Channel and the adjacent rivers, the east coast of Van Diemen's Land, and the newly discovered Bass Strait, in order to fix exactly the entrance and outlet of that waterway. After this the unknown part of the south coast of New Holland was to be dealt with, stretching from Western Port to the islands of St. Francis and St. Peter, where D'Entrecasteaux had been compelled to break off his survey in January 1793. Proceeding to Cape Leeuwin the whole of the coast of New Holland as far as the North West Cape was to be traversed. After resting at Timor or Amboyna an examination of the west coast of New Guinea and of Torres Strait was to be made, followed by a traverse of the Gulf of Carpentaria and of the north coast of the continent to the North West Cape, where previous operations had been broken off. Having completed this programme the ships were to return to the Isle of France, and after resting there they were to reconnoitre part of the east coast of Africa before sailing for Europe. It was expected that the expedition would reach France in the spring of 1803.

It is necessary to examine Plates 3 and 9 in order to appreciate the wide extent of this scheme and the available geographical knowledge Baudin had at his command, besides that furnished by D'Entrecasteaux's charts. It is as well, too, to note particularly the course which the commander was instructed to follow, because the deviation which, for various reasons, he felt

compelled to make, led to consequences that later on threw into shadow, if not into disrepute, the whole record of the expedition. Putting this aspect of the case aside, however, for the present, as well as the results achieved in natural history research, Tasmanians and all those interested in the primitive people who inhabited the island have good reason to congratulate themselves that the southern and eastern coasts of the country were included in the French mission. The geographical work carried out in those areas and in the vicinity of King Island, though useful and opportune, was not of first-rate quality or of primary importance, but the observations made by two members of the party concerning the natives met with in several districts constitute the last, and perhaps the best, of the three outstanding accounts we possess of their natural state, before the settlement of Europeans on the island interfered with their freedom of movement, restricted their means of gaining a livelihood, and therefore altered their whole manner of living.

The expedition was fitted out with all the care and attention to detail which the French nation gave to such projects. The naval ships selected for the voyage were the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste*, 350 tons, both of which appeared then to be well suited for their purpose, but it was found afterwards that the unequal rates of sailing prevented them from providing a perfect combination. Strict attention was paid to the selection of officers, and it was confidently hoped that in Captain Baudin a commander had been found possessing, from previous experience, the qualifications necessary for such a post. But the ill-fortune that dogged the steps of Frenchmen engaged in efforts of the kind, or the something, one does not know what precisely, that stood across the path leading to success, was not absent in this case, and Baudin, victim perhaps of his own deficiencies as a leader and of a lack of good and loyal service on the part of some of his officers, was destined, like his predecessors, Surville, Marion, La Pérouse and D'Entrecasteaux, never to see his native land again (20). As the principal chronicler of the voyage bitterly explained, when the chief, in his opinion, made the first false move: "To what an extent, in the carrying out of enterprises of the highest importance, may the most thoughtless blunders have cruel and irreparable consequences." The voice was the voice of François Péron, zoologist, but the tone was that of Labillardière, botanist. Péron, however, was far more severe than the earlier writer in his frequent strictures on the conduct of his commander (21).

(20) Note.
(21) Note.

Determined that the scientific and artistic work proposed for the expedition should be of the highest order, the learned societies of France united their efforts to secure talented and trained men for service in the different branches of research. Two astronomers, two hydrographers, three botanists, five zoologists, two mineralogists, four artists, an architect, and a chief gardener, with his four assistants, composed the body intended for specialized work, and they were distributed between the two vessels. As France was then at war with Great Britain a passport for the protection of the ships was necessary, and for a scientific expedition it was not difficult to obtain this from the enemy Power. No doubt a copy of the permit which ensured the French ships safety from attack and entitled them to assistance in case of need was sent out to Governor King, to warn him about the foreign visitors. His letter of instructions to Lieutenant Murray in October 1801 shows that he was then expecting to receive news concerning them.

The departure of the French ships from Europe could not but excite deep interest in the mind of Flinders, full of his own plan for similar work in Australia. We have already seen with what success his efforts to prepare the way for a voyage of discovery were rewarded, but as precious time passed and the Admiralty proved inactive it is not surprising that his patience was sorely tried. On 3rd June 1801, he wrote to Banks: "The advance state of the season makes me excessively anxious to be off. I fear that a little longer delay will lose us a summer and lengthen our voyage at least 6 months; besides that, the French are gaining time upon us." A competitive spirit had been roused in Flinders. The affair had become for him a race against time and against rivals. He was like the scratch man in a long-distance handicap, stripped and ready, and shivering with eagerness to get away after his opponent, who is already well ahead with too generous a time allowance. A month later he tells Banks that he has received no instructions by which to judge if their Lordships of the Admiralty had the *Investigator* in their recollection. What, then, was the probable cause of delay? It appeared that "Mr. Nepean has been ill lately". The sickness of the Secretary stayed the work of the Admiralty! On the 17th July the sailing orders arrived, and next day the explorer slipped away from Spithead for the south, his adversaries having a lead of exactly nine months in the contest, though they had no knowledge that they were engaged in such a competition. The modest expert or scientific staff of the *Investigator* consisted of one astronomer, one naturalist, one landscape and figure draughtsman, one botanical draughtsman, with a gardener

and a miner. The loss of the astronomer, who for health reasons had to be left at the Cape, made it necessary for Flinders to include his duties with his own. With his sailing orders he received the passport issued by the French Government in the preceding May, a document which was afterward to become of such vital importance in his relations with the Governor of the Isle of France.

Flinders' voyage and that of Baudin had certain points of contact, but as the latter is the chief subject of this chapter the incidents of such contacts will be given in their chronological order. This precludes the possibility of presenting the work of the English navigator in a continuous narrative, but the reader will note that Baudin's voyage was very intimately connected with Tasmania, whereas the other belongs rather to the story of Australia, although it had some links with the island.

We can touch only lightly on those parts of the French voyage not closely associated with its work in Tasmanian waters. It would be wrong to pass them by altogether, for the whole series of events, bound together, as it were, by the movements of the exploring ships engaged on their lawful occasions, presents a drama, serious indeed in its nature, and marked here and there by tragedy, that hurried forward the foundation of the island colony, and culminated, in another and foreign colony, in a great wrong to a very gallant Englishman.

After calling at the Canary Islands for supplies Baudin sailed for the Isle of France. Avoiding Cape Town, then in British hands, he arrived at Port Louis on the 15th of March 1801. Just upon five months had thus been spent on the journey. This in itself was a bad beginning for the expedition, but there were other disappointments. A small vessel which it had been hoped might be obtained was not available, while provisions being scarce on the island it followed that the exploring ships could not be properly supplied for future requirements. Less serious than the question of food stocks, but more notable, was the fact that, for various reasons, ten of the marine officers remained on the island, while ten out of the twenty-four members composing the scientific and artistic staff felt themselves compelled to sever their connection with the expedition. It was said that most of these persons disembarked because of sickness, but Péron asserts that they were either tired already of ill-treatment by the commander, or justly concerned about the future. Whatever their motives subsequent events proved that they had good reason to be thankful for the course taken, but to those who remained on the ships it must have seemed a small national disaster when the services of one astronomer, two botanists, two zoologists and three

artists were lost to their cause. François Péron was one of those who remained loyal to their engagements. This remarkable young man (he was not yet twenty-six) had joined the expedition at the last moment, and it was his own persistence that had gained him an appointment. Trained in medicine he found in zoology his true profession. Possessed of a lively imagination and an enthusiasm for work, active and self-sacrificing, he stands out as the principal figure in the enterprise. He had lost the use of his right eye as the result of wounds received when, as an ardent young republican, he had fought for his country, but this did not interfere in any way with his powers as an observer.

Baudin remained forty days at the Isle of France, and when he sailed east was confronted with a serious problem. Should he follow his instructions, proceed to Van Diemen's Land, and after spending the winter on survey work in the south of that island and in Bass Strait have the summer season at his disposal to reconnoitre the unknown coast west of Western Port? Or should he sail to Cape Leeuwin, traverse the west coast of the continent, and then attack the southern land under more favourable weather conditions? Departing from his orders Baudin chose the second plan, and thereby left the course open, as it were, for Flinders. Regarding it as a race as to who should have the honour of first exploring the unknown territory, the English commander may be said to have had the prize in hand before he left England. In justice to Baudin it must be stated that his decision was doubtless dictated by his inability to obtain the stores he needed at the Isle of France, but this raises the question whether the ships had been properly provisioned for a long voyage before they left Europe. An adventurous, energetic and gifted commander would probably have taken the first and bolder course, but Baudin was not so fashioned.

The ships arrived at Leeuwin Land, as the French called it, at the end of May, and proceeded along the west coast, filling in gaps in the earlier Dutch charts and bestowing names on the principal features met with. Many of these names, as is only proper, are to be found on present-day maps of that coast. Géographe Bay was discovered and an examination made of Shark's Bay. At the former place the two ships were separated in a severe storm, and did not meet again till September, when they joined forces at Coupang in Timor. The *Géographe* arrived at the Dutch port on 22nd August, after having made a rapid reconnaissance of the coast from Shark's Bay, past the North West Cape and as far as Cape Bougainville on the north coast. The voyagers on this ship were now in a bad way, and privations

of the worst kind had begun to weigh heavily on them. The wretched food to which they had been reduced since they had left the Isle of France had worn down the hardiest among them, and that inhospitable part of the Australian coast had brought their supply of water to a dangerous level. Scurvy, too, had broken out, and some of the sailors were already suffering from bad attacks of that dreadful scourge. It is not surprising that the whole company welcomed the prospect of a period of ease and refreshment in a port richly supplied with all the products of a fertile tropical island, which presented so great a contrast to the flat and barren lands they had lately skirted.

The *Naturaliste*, after the separation of the two ships, visited Rottnest, and made a chart of the group of islands lying off the present port of Fremantle. A boating party ascended the Swan River, and then the ship moved on to Shark's Bay, missing the *Géographe* by a few days. After an examination of parts of the bay she sailed for Coupang, arriving there on the 21st of September, a month later than her consort.

Although life was very pleasant for a time after all their hardships, and the zoologists and the one remaining botanist enjoyed their opportunities for research work, the drawbacks of the climate soon made their appearance. When scurvy disappeared tropical dysentery showed its ugly head. The commander himself fell ill from malaria, and men began to die, one of the early victims being Anselme Riédlé, the chief gardener.

"Our stay in port lasted eighty-four days and in every respect it was most disastrous for us. A prolonged waste of time, the death of many individuals, the encumbrance caused by numbers of invalids on board the two vessels, such were the lamentable embarrassments of that long stoppage. It even appeared quite probable that to have remained much longer on the island would have killed off the rest of our crews."

Thus wrote Péron, who, though not a strong man, kept his health throughout that enervating period.

The French ships sailed from Coupang for Van Diemen's Land on the 13th November 1801. By his dilatory method Baudin had now lost any chance of retrieving his position, though he was not aware at this time how the game was being thrown away. Had he chosen to leave Timor earlier in order to arrive at Cape Leeuwin at the beginning of spring, he might have had the whole summer season for traversing the southern coast of the continent with its untouched areas, and for work in Tasmanian waters. Having departed from the original scheme he now went back to it with most unhappy results for his expedition. On the

6th of December the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste* were still well north of the Tropic of Capricorn. On that day Flinders sighted Cape Leeuwin, and two days later the *Investigator* entered King George Sound to prepare for the systematic nautical survey of the south coast of Australia as far as Western Port. The French ships passed Cape Leeuwin on their southward course about 2nd January 1802, and on the 13th of that month anchored near Partridge Island in D'Entrecasteaux Channel. On the voyage from Timor one of the zoologists, a gardener and several sailors died from diseases contracted at Coupang. Fortunately the doctors of the two vessels, whose efforts on behalf of their unhappy patients were at all times marked by a spirit of great devotion, and working under conditions that must often have roused their anger and contempt for the general management of the voyage, escaped the dangerous disorders which had attacked so many of the ships' companies.

Baudin's instructions included a visit to D'Entrecasteaux Channel, and his interpretation of these orders had this result that the ships remained in its waters, principally in North West Bay, for thirty-four days, during which two boat journeys were made, visits paid to Bruny Island and the mainland, and supplies of wood and water taken in. A good store of drinking-water had now become an urgent necessity for the ships, but considerable difficulty was experienced in obtaining it. Apart from this vital consideration the Channel had a special attraction for the French voyagers. It may even have been regarded by some of them as in one sense their own territory, for they did not at that time grasp the fact that Van Diemen's Land was part of New South Wales and therefore belonged to the British. The honour attached to the discovery of the "canal", the fine charts, the work of their countrymen, based on a high-class survey of its harbours and shores, naturally appealed to their national pride. Nor were they, from their own experiences, led to disappointment regarding food supplies by the accounts of the earlier visitors. Sea-fish, shell-fish, birds and animals, were found in abundance, and were much valued by the ill-nourished mariners. But of vegetables and herbs there were scarcely any to be found. In the shallow waters of the Channel the zoologists found specimens of sea-animals sufficient even for their desires: the study of marine life was indeed the principal feature of the scientific work of the expedition, and it had this advantage for enthusiasts, that it could be carried on at all times during a voyage while health permitted.

Reference has been made to the descriptions of the aborigines in the published account of the voyage. The authors of those

sketches would probably have been surprised had they been informed that this section of their joint work would eventually be held by some to outweigh in value much of the other descriptive matter which their narratives afford. For they could hardly be expected to realize how soon the conditions under which they drew their illustrations of native life were to pass away for ever. To Péron, a student of mankind, one whose later ambition it was to make a world-wide study of human races, it would have afforded immense gratification that he had contributed, ere it was too late, to knowledge of a people afterwards to be referred to as the lost Tasmanian race. Possessed of a vivid imagination and wielding a facile pen, Péron's word-pictures are often too fanciful to be altogether convincing, though the substance of his work may be accepted as genuine evidence based on his clear-sighted observations. It is not necessary to insert here in full his lengthy accounts, but the selections made, taken in conjunction with those extracted from the reports of earlier visitors, should present a fairly realistic picture of the inhabitants of the island in that preliminary stage of their contact with white men. Péron's first meeting with the natives took place in Port Cygnet, when he and Lesueur, his artist friend, accompanied Henri Freycinet in a search for water. This is how he describes it, though his first favourable impressions of the people had to be modified by experience gained in other interviews:

"When following our course we arrived at a small cove, at the head of which there appeared to be a fine valley, which seemed to offer hopes of a fresh-water stream, and M. Freycinet decided to land there. Hardly were we ashore when two natives appeared at the top of the hill. Responding to our friendly signals one of them bounded down and in the twinkling of an eye was in our midst. He was a young man of 22 to 24 years, in appearance strong on the whole and having no other defect than the leanness of legs and arms characteristic of his nation. His countenance was neither stern nor fierce, his eyes were lively and intelligent, and his manner expressed at once both good-will and astonishment. M. Freycinet having embraced him I followed suit, but from the air of indifference with which he received this mark of attention it was easy to see that it had no meaning for him. What appeared at first to interest him more was the whiteness of our skins. No doubt wishing to be certain that our bodies were of the same colour he opened our waistcoats and shirts, and his amazement showed itself by loud cries and rapid stamping of the feet. However, our launch seemed to take up his attention more than our persons, for after having inspected us for a little while, he sprang into it, and there, without concerning himself about the sailors, appeared to become absorbed in his new enquiry. The thickness of its ribs and timbers, the solidity of construction, its rudder, oars, masts and

sails, he examined in silence, and with a close attention that unmistakably proved his keen interest and admiration. At that moment, one of the boat-men, no doubt wishing to add to his surprise, presented him with a glass bottle filled with arrack, part of the allowance of the crew. The glitter of the glass made the savage utter a cry of astonishment, and he examined it for some moments, but his curiosity soon being recalled to the boat, he flung the bottle overboard, without appearing to have any other intention than ridding himself of an unimportant article. Neither the cries of the sailor, annoyed at the loss of his arrack, nor the haste with which one of his companions threw himself into the water to fish it up, appeared to affect him. He tried several times to push the launch off, but the rope with which it was fastened made all his efforts ineffective, and he was compelled to rejoin us, after having given us the most striking example of application of mind and of reflection that we have ever had amongst savage peoples."

"When we came to the top of the hill M. Freycinet and I met with a second native, an old man of about 50 years. His beard was partly gray, as was his hair; his countenance, like that of the young man, was open and frank; notwithstanding some unmistakable signs of uneasiness and fear one easily perceived sincerity and good-nature. This old man, after having examined us both with as much surprise and satisfaction as the other had done, and like him tested the colour of our chests, signalled to two women who were some distance away to approach; they hesitated a little, when the leader of the pair came to us, the younger, more timid and agitated than the first, followed her. Like the old man the elder woman, who appeared to be about forty years old and was absolutely naked, seemed kind and well-disposed. The young woman, twenty-six to twenty-eight years of age, had a sturdy frame; like the other she was quite naked except for a kangaroo skin in which she carried a little unweaned baby girl. This young creature, like the old man and the elder woman, whom we supposed to be her father and mother, had an interesting countenance; her eyes had an expression and such a look of intelligence that surprised us, and that we have never found since then in any other female of that nation; she seemed moreover to idolize her child, and her care for it had that loving and sweet character that reappears amongst all peoples as a distinct attribute of maternal affection. M. Freycinet and I hastened to load this pleasing and interesting family with presents, but everything that we could offer was received with an indifference that astonished us, and that we have often since then had occasion to observe amongst others of the same race."

"However, M. Freycinet, having set out with some men on his search for a stream, and M. Lesueur having gone hunting in the forests, I remained with the savages, occupied in observing them, in describing their physical structure, and in collecting some words of their language. The young man, having noticed that our sailors wished to light a fire, hastened to collect some branches of trees near us, then with a kind of torch which he had placed near the spot where we were, he very quickly procured a huge fire, which was all the more agreeable because the ther-

mometer was not above 52 degrees. Just at this time the young woman had a surprise, the cause of which was trivial enough, but which I ought not to pass over in silence, because it is precisely these petty details which give a more exact and true representation of the condition of races so far removed from our own social manner of living. One of our seamen was wearing a pair of warm gloves, and on approaching the fire took them off and put them in his pocket. The young woman, when she saw this, uttered such a loud cry that at first we were alarmed, but we soon recognised the reason of her fright. She had taken the gloves for real hands, or at least for a kind of living skin, which one could take off, put into a pocket and put on again at pleasure. We laughed heartily at this quaint mistake, but it was quite another matter when the old man relieved us a moment later of a bottle of arrack! As it contained a great part of our beverage we had to make him return it, which seemed to rouse some anger, for he immediately took himself off with his family, in spite of all my entreaties to remain longer."

"When I descended to the shore the tide was out, and in less than two hours I collected more than forty new kinds of shell-fish, shells, crustacea and fish. . . . During our absence the sailors had prepared our frugal meal; we eat it in haste and set out immediately to visit another part of the shore, where we had some hope of finding good water. Before long we came across a native hut; it was merely a simple break-wind made of bark, arranged in a semicircle and propped against some dry branches. So frail a shelter could have no other object than to protect the people from the force of the coldest winds, and I noticed that the rounded side faced the south-west, from which quarter, in these parts the most constant, heaviest and coldest winds come. In front of this poor hovel were the remains of a recently extinguished fire, and great heaps of the shells of oysters and of *Haliotis Gigantea* (*the large ear-shells or sea-ears*) lay at a little distance, giving out, from the remains of the fish left in the shells, a putrid and sickening idour. On the beach we noticed two canoes, each formed of three rolls of bark roughly united, and held together by straps of the same kind. I shall return elsewhere to this crude attempt in the art of navigation; one may gather a fair idea of it from the drawing by M. Lesueur."

"These huts, these recently extinguished fires, these remains of shell-fish, the canoes, put it beyond doubt that the family with which we had had an interview inhabited this part of the shore. It was not long, in fact, before we saw the same individuals coming towards us along the beach. As soon as they saw us they gave vent to great shouts of joy and doubled their speed to rejoin us. Their number was now increased by a young girl about sixteen, a small boy of four and a little girl about three years of age. The family was then returning from fishing, in which they had certainly been successful, for most of them were loaded with shell-fish belonging to the large species of sea-ears peculiar to those coasts. The old man, taking M. Freycinet by the hand, signed to us to follow him, and conducted us to the poor hut we had lately quitted. A fire was lighted in a second, and after

having repeated several times 'may-dèe, may-dee' (sit down, sit down), which we did, the savages squatted on their heels and each one set out to eat the produce of his fishing. The cooking was neither long nor difficult to perform; those great shells were placed on the fire and there, as in a dish, the animal was baked and then eaten without any other kind of seasoning or preparation. We tasted the shell-fish prepared in that way, and found them very tender and succulent. Whilst our good Diemenese were thus engaged on their simple meal it occurred to us to give them some music, not so much to amuse them as to learn the effect of our songs on their imagination and on their hearing. For this purpose we chose that hymn so unhappily misued in the revolution, but so full of fire and rapture, and therefore so suitable for our object. At first the savages appeared more perplexed than surprised, but after some moments of uncertainty they listened intently, the meal was stopped, and they showed their satisfaction by such fantastic contortions and gestures that we could hardly refrain from bursting into laughter. Our listeners experienced no less difficulty in holding in the expression of their enthusiasm during the singing, but hardly was a verse finished than loud cries of admiration broke out from all; the young man especially was beside himself, he caught hold of his hair, he rubbed his head with both hands, he threw himself about in a thousand different ways, and kept up his loud cries. After this lusty and martial music we sang some of our light and tender melodies; the savages seemed to gather their true meaning, but it was easy to see that sounds of this kind moved them very little."

"The young girl, Ouray-Ouray, of whom I have spoken, showed us for the first time the nature of the paint of those regions and the method of using it. Taking some charcoal in her hands she crushed it into a very fine powder; keeping this dust in her left hand she then rubbed some of it with her right hand first on her forehead and then on her cheeks, thereby making herself fearfully black. What appeared to us most singular was the air of satisfaction with which the young creature regarded us after this operation and the look of confidence that this novel decoration had given to her countenance. Thus it is that a feeling for coquetry, a taste for ornament, form a natural craving, so to speak, in the hearts of womenkind. The personal goods and utensils of the family were as simple as they were scanty. A leaf of *Fucus palmatus* (*kelp*), with the two ends gathered together by means of a small wooden peg, served as a drinking vessel, a broken piece of granite took the place of a knife to cut the bark of trees and to sharpen spears, a spatula of wood was intended chiefly to detach shell-fish from the rocks. Ouray-Ouray alone carried a bag made of rushes, of a neat and unusual construction, which I much wished to obtain. As the young girl had been very friendly with me, I risked making a request for her little bag; immediately, without hesitation, she put it in my hand, accompanying her present by a pleasing smile and some affectionate words that I was sorry I could not understand. In return I gave her a handkerchief and a hammer-axe. The manner of using this, which I showed to her brother, was the cause of astonishment and clamour amongst the whole family. . . . Nothing pleased them so much as a

long red feather which M. Breton gave to Ouray-Ouray. She jumped for joy, she called her father and her brothers, she shouted, she laughed, in a word she seemed intoxicated with delight and happiness. At length we got back to the beach and embarked. Our good Diemenese did not leave us for an instant, and when we put off from the shore their distress showed itself in a most affecting manner, and they made signs for us to come back and see them."

"Thus ended our first interview with the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land. The detailed account which I have given is absolutely correct, and it would doubtless have been difficult to deny oneself the agreeable emotion that such harmony ought to inspire. That delightful trust of the inhabitants in us, the loving proofs of goodwill that they did not cease to lavish on us, the sincerity of their demonstrations, the frankness of their manners, the touching innocence of their caresses, everything seemed to contribute in developing sentiments in us of the most tender regard. The general concord between the different members of the family, the kind of patriarchal life that we witnessed, had moved us greatly. . . . I was far from suspecting then the full extent of the privation and misery that such a mode of existence allows."

Whilst Péron had thus been enjoying the kindly hospitality of a friendly patriarch at Port Cygnet, some of his ship-mates had been given a reception of a very different kind across the Channel on Bruny Island. A party having been sent ashore on a fishing excursion a number of natives appeared; having been well treated by the whites and been given many presents they spent the day with the fishermen. One of the French cadets, wishing to test the physical strength of the sturdiest looking of the savages, challenged him to a wrestling match, and threw him to the ground several times. This proof of the superiority of their visitors evidently rankled in the minds of the natives, though nothing occurred till an hour or two later, when the fishing party, after a fresh distribution of gifts, were embarking in their boat. A spear, thrown from behind some rocks in the neighbourhood, struck the cadet in the neck, inflicting a flesh wound. The sailors would have punished this treacherous act had not the natives quickly dispersed. Several other incidents of a similar nature occurred in different parts of the Channel, and it became necessary for the Frenchmen to exercise the greatest caution in all dealings with such unfriendly hosts. In one of these affairs Petit, the artist, who had gone ashore on the mainland with Captain Baudin and Captain Hamelin, had a narrow escape. He had drawn a sketch of some of the savages, when one of them, apparently angry at this, attempted to snatch the picture out of the artist's hands and made a fierce attack on him with a billet of wood. The intervention of the draughtsman's friends saved

his life, but the party, when embarking, notwithstanding all the presents they had liberally distributed, were given a shower of stones, one of which struck the Commander in the back, inflicting a severe bruise. In spite of all this aggressive conduct the members of the expedition carefully refrained on every occasion from using their fire-arms, striving always by generous gifts to break down the hostility of the inhabitants.

A boat journey made to the Derwent River under the charge of Henri Freycinet gave Péron an opportunity to extend his knowledge of the country. The party reached a point above Herdsman's Cove, where further progress was stopped by sandbanks. Freycinet carried his inspection of the river twelve miles higher by walking along its banks; he then ascended a hill from which he was able to observe its probable course southward from the northern hills. Péron in the meantime made notes on the country near the spot reached by the boat. At one place he came across a collection of fourteen native shelters. In front of these huts, where several fires were still burning, he found bones of kangaroo and birds, and some flat stones, warm and greasy, on which, so he concluded, the savages had broiled their food; he picked up some of their implements, which he described as being merely fragments of a very fine hard granite. On the return journey the party attempted to get into contact with the inhabitants, but without success. "The manners of the people in this part", reports Péron, "appeared to be still more savage than in the Channel, and though we caught sight of a few of them here and there it was impossible to join them, as they all fled into the woods when they saw us." The Frenchmen were much struck by the number of fires seen and by the way in which the countryside was being burnt off by the natives. Péron thought this an act of hostility, but it is far more probable that their visit happened to coincide with some of the summer or seasonal bush fires deliberately started by the aborigines to clear away undergrowth for the benefit of local game and to facilitate hunting.

The chief boat journey organized by Baudin while the ships were lying in North West Bay led up to important results. It lasted eleven days, and under the conduct of Pierre Faure, geographical engineer, helped to solve the problem of Frederik Hendrik Bay. Faure's method consisted in following coast lines closely, and from the information thus obtained a rough eye-sketch of Norfolk Bay and the adjacent waters was drawn (Plate 12). Entering the bay he first traversed its western side; passing on he discovered Eagle Hawk Neck (the feature that had attracted Flinders' attention in 1798), discovered East Bay Neck, entered the Carlton River, following its course for some miles, and finally

discovered and partly examined the shallow arm of the sea now called Pitt Water.

On his return from the trip to the Derwent River Péron had further opportunities, when making excursions on Bruny Island or the mainland, of observing the manners and habits of "the wretched hordes" of those parts. On one occasion he and two companions fell in with twenty native women on North Bruny. Péron was better endowed than his countrymen with the art of establishing and maintaining friendly relations with the natives. The social aspect of such intercourse, if so it may be called, seemed to attract him and to make its appeal to a sentimental strain in his character, or perhaps it was that he found it easier to make his observations after he had succeeded in getting the inhabitants to forget their timidity and to behave naturally. This meeting was peaceful throughout, and when one of the Frenchmen entertained the party with a song and a dance the compliment was returned by the elderly woman who appeared to be their leader. Two of the vsitors allowed their faces to be blackened with charcoal, a process that seemed, according to the observer, to strengthen the attitude of confidence that had been established.

"As they were probably returning from fishing when we had met them," wrote Péron, "all of them were laden with large crabs, with crayfish and different kinds of shell fish, roasted on embers, which they were carrying in their rush-bags. These bags were fastened round the forehead by cord loops, and hung down their backs. Some of these bags were quite heavy, and we sincerely pitied the females for having to bear such burdens."

There was occasion for further pity a little later, when the whole party moved along the shore.

"It was with this numerous and strange escort that we came to our landing place, where, by a chance impossible to foresee, the husbands of these poor women had assembled shortly before. Notwithstanding the clearest proofs of goodwill and generosity on the part of our compatriots, these men still maintained a restless and sombre expression; their looks were fierce and threatening, and their whole attitude was marked by constraint, ill-will and treachery, that they tried in vain to hide. One would have said that they were depressed by their ineffective attacks upon us, and at the same time feared our vengeance. All the unhappy females who had followed us appeared dismayed at this unexpected meeting; their savage husbands cast such looks of anger and rage at them as were hardly likely to reassure them. After having placed the products of their fishing at the feet of their menkind, who immediately divided it amongst themselves without offering them any, they grouped themselves behind their husbands, who were then

seated at the back of a large sand-bank, and there, during the rest of the interview, those unfortunate creatures did not dare either to raise their eyes, to speak, or to smile."

The observations made by Louis Freycinet while the ships were visiting D'Entrecasteaux Channel throw light on the abundant food supply obtainable in the channel at that time. Besides the birds and kangaroo, which were hunted with great success on each shore, large quantities of fish, especially rays, were caught. Some of the latter were found to weigh between three and four hundred pounds. Crayfish and crabs, oysters, scallops and mussels, were easily secured. Freycinet makes special reference to the large sea-ears (*haliotis*) of which the natives of the district consumed immense numbers. Of the natives themselves he formed a poor opinion, considering them ill-natured, suspicious and timid, though a few individuals were met with who had pleasing and affable manners. Happily Freycinet took a little more trouble than others who had seen and described the native canoes, and he has given a careful account of their construction : (22)

"Living as the natives do in a condition so far removed from civilization, their arts have not made much improvement. Although inhabiting a country intersected by innumerable arms of the sea they have scarcely known how to contrive canoes with which to navigate them, and those that they have are extremely defective in construction. We have seen and measured several of them, which were of the same size and put together in the same fashion. Three rolls of eucalyptus bark formed the whole of the frame-work. The principal roll or member was 15 feet long, its thickness being 3 ft. 3 in. ; the two others being 12 ft. 9 in. long and only one foot thick. Each of these bundles was rather like the yard-arms of a vessel in appearance. They were brought together and united at their ends, which caused them to turn up in a point. This constituted the complete body of the canoe. The whole combination was made fairly compact by means of a kind of grass or bulrush. Five or six savages could seat themselves in these canoes, but generally only three or four at a time would do so. Their paddles are merely pieces of wood from 8 to 13 or even 16 feet long, and from $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch up to 2 inches in thickness. Sometimes, when the water is not very deep, they use these as poles. To work their canoes they usually remain seated, placing bundles of grass in them to serve as seats ; at other times they remain standing. We only saw them cross the canal in fine weather. It is not conceivable that such frail and imperfect craft could ever make any progress or even last in a rough sea. Besides, it did not appear that they had ever attempted to make longer trips than to go from one point to another, or to cross a bay or a harbour, in the interior of the canal. It is to be noted that they always put a fire-place at one end of the canoe ; this

(22) Note.

was made of earth or ashes sufficiently thick to prevent the fire from spreading."

Baudin left North West Bay on the 17th of February 1802, and on the following day, after noting and naming the principal features of the two peninsulas, Tasman and Forestier, the two ships anchored near the entrance of Oyster Bay, on the west side of Maria Island. It may be well to observe here that the French charts representing the results of their traverses along Tasmanian coasts are plentifully supplied with names given to physical features, even in those cases where examination of them was of the slightest description. The names so honoured were those of notable French scientists and of the staffs of the *Géographe* and the *Naturaliste*. Considering the quality of the work performed a very generous number of these names have been allowed to remain, and these are recorded on present-day maps. It is not to detract from the utility of some part of the French investigations to say that they do not bear comparison with those of the earlier French expedition, that of D'Entrecasteaux, nor are the sketches based on them worthy to be placed side by side with the finished productions of Beautemps-Beaupré. The sketches of Baudin's staff clearly left much to be done by later and better skilled workmen.

From his new anchorage the French Commander sent off four boating parties to traverse the neighbouring coasts. The first of these, under Henri Freycinet, spent eight days on an investigation of Marion Bay from Cape Bernier to Cape Frederick Hendrik. He entered the bay now misnamed Blackman's Bay, and joined up his work with that of Faure in Norfolk Bay, thus putting an end to the question of the true position of Tasman's Frederik Hendrik Bay, which was thus proved to be a feature of the east coast of Tasmania. Forestier Peninsula received its name, Cape Bernier was called after the astronomer of the expedition, while another headland was used to recall the memory of an unfortunate member of La Pérouse's expedition who was killed at the Navigator Islands, Paul Lemanon.

The second boat, under the command of Louis Freycinet, worked north from Cape Bernier as far as Cape Bougainville. The one result of this minor effort was an examination of the piece of water now known as Prosser's Bay. A more important mission was that given to Faure, who received instructions to explore the Schouten Island and the Vanderlyn Island of Tasman (Plate 1). In his casual examination of this area Furneaux, easily deceived by the configuration of the land, although he passed by in daylight and at no great distance (Plate 4), represented them as

forming four small islands, much about the same in size. Faure succeeded, during the seven days spent on his trip, in clearing up these errors, and his sketch (Plate 12) gave a tolerable approximation to the truth. Vanderlyn's Island, shown to be part of the mainland, received the name Freycinet's Peninsula, while the large sheet of water to the west of it, now known as Oyster Bay, received from the French the name Fleurieu Bay. With more time at his disposal Faure might possibly have noted the entrance to Great Swan Port, and investigated it.

The fourth boating party made a circuit of Maria Island to make a plan of it and to search for fresh water. Three days were spent on this journey. It was during this tour that Péron, who took part in it, made a most interesting discovery at Riédlé Bay, on the east coast of the island, where the party camped the first night. Wandering away from the shore he came across a track which led him to the top of a small hill on the north side of the bay. Here he found a native tomb, pleasantly situated, and containing the partly burnt bones of a man. This discovery proved that the aborigines practised cremation, and that those living on the east coast of Tasmania honoured certain members of their tribe in a special manner. Plate 15 includes a representation of the monument which he was fortunate enough to find. Describing this Péron wrote :

" In the midst of a wide lawn, under the shade of some old Casuarina trees, (*she-oaks*) there stood a cone roughly formed with pieces of bark set in the ground, and brought together at the top and fastened with a strip of the same material. Four long poles fixed in the ground served as supports for the bark ; they appeared also to have been intended to act as ornaments, for instead of merely coming together, like the pieces of bark, they intersected at about half their length, and thus formed a sort of inverted pyramid standing upon the lower cone. This contrast of form and of opposition in the two parts produced quite a graceful effect, and this was increased by the following arrangement : To each of the four sides of the pyramid was fitted a large strap of folded bark, the extremities being tied in by the strip already spoken of as fastening the bark or covering of the cone. Each of these four straps formed a kind of oval loup. It is easy to conceive how elegant and picturesque such a device would appear. Within the structure was a large flattened cone composed of fine light grass, carefully arranged in thick concentric layers. Eight small wooden sticks crossed this cone, their ends being buried in the ground and these were rendered more secure by large pieces of flat granite being placed over the ends."

Carrying his investigations further, Péron discovered, under the layers of grass, a hole in the ground, some eighteen inches wide and ten inches deep. In this hollow the human remains had been deposited. They consisted of almost completely burnt

SKETCH
SHOWING DISCOVERIES BY
CAPTAIN BAUDIN'S EXPEDITION
S.E. TASMANIA, 1802
From a General Chart, (reduced),
published in Paris, 1812
BAIE FLEURIEU
C. Tourville
B. Thouin
Î. du Refuge
C. Forestier
C. Degérando
Detroit du Géographe
Ile Schouten
C. Faure
C. Sonnerat
Îlots Taillefer
C. Bailly
Î. des Phoques
Port Montbazin
C. Bougainville
Î. du Nord
C. Boullanger
ÎLE MARIA
C. Mistaken
C. des Tombeaux
C. Maurouard
C. Bernier
C. Péron
La Pyramide
Pte du Ressac
Baie Marion
Etangs d'eau douce
Riv. Brûlé
Baie du Nord
Riv. du Nord
Gros Morne
Bassin Ransonnet
Montagne du Plateau
Î Caves
Pte Renard
I Smooth
Pte Joannet
Î St Aignan
C. Deslacs
La Double Baie
Presqu'île du Nord
C. des Contrariétés
I. Willaumez
C. de Duretour
C. de la Sortie
Port du Nord Ouest
Pte Gicquel
R. Fleurieu
Riv. Huon
Port des Cygnes
CAVALD'ENTRECASTEAUX
PARTIE DE L'ÎLE BEUNY
Pte le Grand
Pte Verte
Î Quoin
PORT BUACHE
Presqu'Île Forestier
C. Surville
Baie Monge
PRESQU'ÎLE TASMAN
C. Paul-Lamanon
C. Frédérick Hendrick
B. Dolomieu
R. d'Hippolyte
C. Haüy
Baie Maingon
Cap Pillar
Cap Raoul
Î. Tasman

hes
wide and ten inches deep. In this hollow the human remains
had been deposited. They consisted of almost completely burnt

bones, and it was easy for their discoverer to conclude that, placed in such a position and already reduced to a condition resembling charcoal, at no great length of time they would crumble away to dust. Nor could the frail structure above them last very long. A similar but older tomb was seen by the botanist Leschenault on the following day near the isthmus between the north and south parts of Maria Island. A special feature of this monument was the engraving, on the inside surface of the pieces of bark forming the pyramid, of marks or characters similar to those tattooed by the natives on their fore-arms, indicating that they had at least some crude idea of picturing or representing simple objects on flat surfaces. A point near the place where the zoologist had found the first monument was called Cap des Tombeaux, a name which it still retains.

The boat travellers were much struck by the immense beds of kelp lying off the eastern and northern shores of Maria Island. They found that some of the stems of this sea-plant measured from 250 to 300 feet in length, and several leaves over ten feet long were observed. The second camping place of the party was in Oyster Bay, and on the following morning, 21st April 1802, when leaving the bay, sounds which they knew well how to interpret came to their ears. The discharge of a ship's gun at intervals informed them that René Maugé had died, and was then being buried. He had been ill since the preceding November, and while the ships were lying in D'Entrecasteaux Channel had made strenuous though fruitless efforts to engage in work on Bruny Island. Maugé was buried on Maria Island at the foot of a large eucalyptus, upon which a lead plate with particulars of his death was fastened, and the headland where this ceremony took place was named after him (23). Péron was thus left as the only zoologist of the expedition.

On the following day Péron had an opportunity of meeting some of the natives who were accustomed to cross over to Maria Island in their canoes from the mainland. The interview was carried through at great personal risk to himself and his companions, although he managed to secure from his observations, before relations with the savages became unfriendly, certain information concerning them of value to students of the race. He had gone ashore, accompanied by the painter, Nicholas Petit, intending to visit the tombs near the isthmus, in order that the artist might sketch them. They were allowed the use of a small boat, manned by two sailors and coxswain. This was one of the frequent occasions concerning which the scientist felt compelled to complain bitterly of the conduct of Baudin as a Commander.

(23) Note.

The small party was refused any arms by the chief, the pretext being that boating parties used too much powder (24). Petit, however, managed to conceal an indifferent musket in the boat, and this was their only weapon. Noticing a large fire near the shore of Oyster Bay the party landed and fell in with a band of fourteen natives, who welcomed them with signs of surprise and pleasure, and insisted upon their sitting down with them. The natives were armed with spears and clubs, and on their part the Europeans relied on the coxswain, who was entrusted with the musket. Most of the savages were from 16 to 25 years in age, two or three might have been as much as 35, and one perhaps 55. One only reached a height of 5 feet 10 inches and he was thinner than his fellows; the others ranged from 5 feet 6 inches to 5 feet 8 inches. Even the best made man of them all, the only one who had his hair sprinkled with red ochre, was not well proportioned, his arms and legs, especially the latter, being thin and weak. To interest the savages the artist gave a little exhibition of juggling, but that which astonished them most was to see the boatswain run a pin into the calf of his leg without showing any sign of pain or drawing blood. Unhappily for Péron several pins were amongst the presents that had been distributed. One of the natives repeated this experiment on the scientist's leg, with such effect that he was unable to suppress a cry of agony. A little later he had what might have been an even worse experience. One of the large gold rings which he wore in his ears took the fancy of a savage, who quietly came behind him, and inserting a finger in the ring attempted to drag it away. Luckily for the wearer the fastening opened, or his ear would certainly have been torn through.

"The countenance amongst these wild creatures", wrote Péron, "is most expressive; the passions display themselves there with violence, succeeding each other rapidly; as changeable as their feelings the whole figure is altered and varies with them. Ugly and grim when in threatening mood, they are restless and treacherous when suspicion holds them. When laughter seizes them the face takes on an appearance of mirth that is extravagant and almost convulsive. Among the elders it is sad, hard and sombre, but in general among all these people, whenever we have had them under observation, their looks retain a sinister and ferocious appearance, which cannot escape a close observer, and corresponds only too well, in the main, with their character."

Considerable tact and fortitude were required to enable the small party to extricate itself from a position that became more menacing the longer the interview lasted. Before getting away,

(24) Note.

however, Péron managed to persuade some of the natives to go through a test of their physical strength by means of a Regnier dynamometer. The white men first showed their own strength on the machine, and then the natives, their curiosity aroused, were quick-witted enough to grasp what was required. As may be supposed the results obtained were far from being in their favour. Suspecting that this fact, which was apparent to their intelligence, might lead to trouble, the elder of the aborigines prudently ordered his people not to touch the machine again. After their escape the boat party went on to the head of the bay, and the artist made his sketches of the tombs.

The natives of the east coast were better off in one respect than their fellow-countrymen living in the neighbourhood of the Channel, for Maria Island supplied them with a material superior to bark for the construction of their canoes. This consisted of the stems of bulrushes, described by Péron as a new species, which he found growing along the edges of swamps on the north side of Oyster Bay. Of good floatage these reeds were a valuable asset to the natives, and in addition the roots and suckers supplied a certain amount of vegetable food (25). Louis Freycinet's comments on the inhabitants of this district were brief and unfavourable.

"As wild and as wretched as the aborigines of D'Entrecasteaux Channel, those of Maria Island appeared to us equally distrustful and treacherous. Their canoes are of the same shape as those we have already described, and just as defective in construction. The only difference is that instead of the bark of the eucalyptus trees they use nothing but a kind of reed which grows in abundance at Oyster Bay."

To cross between the mainland and Maria Island with their frail "floats" must have been a fairly risky proceeding for the natives, one to be undertaken only with the best weather conditions. The narrowest part of the channel at the point where they would wish to make the crossing, that is, opposite Oyster Bay, is three miles. Here, half-way across, was a small island, called by Baudin Repose Island, where they could rest or take shelter. And yet there were good reasons why the risks of the journey should be taken, for Maria Island offered supplies of their favourite foods, as well as good reeds for canoes. Oysters, mussels, crayfish, crabs and other shell-fish, were easily obtainable in such large quantities that its shores made one of the best of hunting grounds in the right season. The French expedition was able to benefit from this harvest of the sea, though no mention is made of the capture, for food, of any of the innumerable seals

(25) Note.

seen along the coasts. Spider crabs of large size, probably *Pseudocarcinus Gigas*, were caught every day in sufficient numbers to be distributed amongst the crews of each ship.

Baudin sailed from Maria Island on the 27th February 1802, to continue his traverse of the east coast of Tasmania. Contrary winds, calms and currents delayed progress so much that it was not till 6th March that the ships passed Schouten Island. Misty weather had also made it difficult for them to keep company. On this day, near latitude 42°, the Commander sent one of his boats away, under a ship's officer and Charles Boullanger, geographical engineer, to survey the coast northwards at close quarters. It was arranged that the boat, after each day's work, should return to the ship, which was to hang off the coast, following a parallel course, but always keeping the boat in view. That evening the boat disappeared from view, and although fires were shown on the ship to indicate its position, rockets sent up every hour, and guns fired every half-hour during the night, it failed to come aboard. Being without provisions the boat might have been expected to remain hanging about till picked up, but it appears to have moved steadily along the coast northwards. Continuing its journey in that direction the occupants managed to live on seals and birds, and were lucky enough to find fresh water. They reached Banks Strait and there fell in with the brig *Harrington*, Captain Campbell, who was conducting active sealing operations in the strait. Campbell entertained the party and offered to take them to Sydney if they would wait till he returned from a visit he proposed to make to Port Dalrymple and to Western Port. However, on the following day, the 10th, the *Naturaliste* arrived and the boat-party joined their countrymen.

On the 7th, keeping close in to the coast and continuing his search for the boat, Baudin, who was much upset by its continued absence, was in the vicinity of Patrick's Head. The firing of guns was continued on the ship and the shores were carefully examined for any signs of the boat. On the following morning it was found that during the night the *Naturaliste* had parted company with the *Géographe*. The two ships did not join forces again till four months later, when they met at Sydney.

On the evening of the 9th, when near St. Helen's Point, after consulting with his staff and the naturalists, Baudin, in deference to their opinions, turned south, to return to Schouten Island. On the following day he fell in with a sealing schooner from Sydney making for Maria Island, and her captain was asked to keep a look out for the boat. This schooner had met the *Naturaliste* two days earlier and Captain Hamelin, foreseeing

that she would probably meet the *Géographe*, sent word to Baudin that he was going on to anchor in the strait. The French learnt from this vessel that their ships were expected at Sydney, where a suitable reception awaited them. Abandoning his search for the boat as the result of a second consultation with his staff, Baudin turned north on the 11th (26). Owing to bad weather he did not reach Waterhouse Island, which had been named as a rendezvous, till the 18th March, and two days later, having seen nothing of his consort, passed on to begin the traverse of what the French geographers of the expedition called "Terre Napoléon", in honour of the First Consul of the Republic.

According to the charts of the voyage, published in 1812 under the direction of Louis Freycinet, "Napoleon Land" was all that coastal area extending from Wilson's Promontory in the east to a point in the Australian Bight opposite the Islands of St. Peter and St. Francis. When Baudin sighted Wilson's Promontory on 28th March 1802, he believed that the whole of that vast stretch of coast line was quite unknown except at its eastern end, where Bass had penetrated a short distance into that region, from the Promontory to Western Port. At that time the French Commander knew nothing about Flinders' movements, or of the work that had been done by Grant and Murray. Keeping well away from the shore the *Géographe*, without turning aside to enter Western Port, passed round a bay to which the name Talleyrand was given.

"On the eastern side of this bay", wrote Péron later, "and almost at the head of it, there is a port, of which the outlines could be made out fairly well from the mast-head. We distinguished it by naming it Port du Début, but having heard afterwards that it had been examined more closely by the English brig, *Lady Nelson*, and had been called Port Phillip, we retained the latter designation with the greater pleasure because it was that of the founder of a colony in which we had obtained such generous and such great assistance."

A pretty tale, but it is to be feared that Péron, writing long after the event, deliberately allowed his pen to run away with him, and that Louis Freycinet, when he published the statement that the entrance of Port Phillip had been observed, without an entry into the harbour having been made, was likewise guilty of an attempt to mislead. The ship was too far from the Heads, and its course too oblique, for the entrance to be easily detected, nor could the shores of the port have been traced by eye from the mast-head of a ship so situated.

The *Géographe* had experienced some violent weather in Bass

(26) Note.

Strait, when working towards the Promontory. To make amends she was now favoured with good breezes, and sped along the coast, noting the principal features and bestowing names on them. Uninviting and inhospitable in appearance, the country west of Cape Otway had little to attract or to offer the voyagers, and at this time both fresh food and good water were badly needed on the ship. Scurvy had again begun its terrible ravages, and the salt provisions, tainted and worm-eaten, added to the virulence of the scourge. It came as a godsend to the stricken crew when, on the 8th of April, the sailors were able to harpoon a few dolphins out of some thousands that came about the ship. That day, however, was marked by a more important event. A sail was seen, and it was at once thought that it must be the *Naturaliste*, but presently the on-coming ship hoisted the British flag, and hove to astern of the *Géographe*, on which the French flag was now flown. It proved to be the *Investigator*, and Captain Flinders, after inquiring the name of the visiting ship, went on board to call upon her Commander. The place where the two ships met received the name Encounter Bay, and it is a curious coincidence that, while each of the explorers was making a particular search for some large continental river, the mouth of such a river, the most important in Australia, was lying hidden within a few miles of their meeting-place, but neither of them discovered it. Like many other Australian features its secrets were well veiled, and only to be disclosed to the strenuous seeker.

Exactly four months before Flinders met and talked with the French Commander he had entered King George Sound to wood and water, and to prepare his ship for the examination of the south coast of Australia. While this essential work was being accomplished he made a re-survey of the Sound, adding to and completing Vancouver's earlier operations. Then followed a precise and systematic nautical survey of the southern coast. With tracings of D'Entrecasteaux's charts in his hands he was able to utilize these, as far as they extended, in perfecting his own charts of a particularly barren and desolate region, the Great Australian Bight. As compensation for this most laborious but necessary task there now came a splendid reward. He discovered and surveyed those great waterways, Spencer Gulf and the Gulf of St. Vincent, investigating them to their northern limits, and proving that here were no straits leading through the continent to the Gulf of Carpentaria. This arduous campaign had not been without its misfortune. South of Port Lincoln, in a dangerous rippling, a boat was lost containing the master of the *Investigator*, " a truly valuable man as a seaman, an officer and good member

of society", together with a midshipman and six fine seamen. Thistle, the master, had accompanied Bass as one of the crew on his famous boat journey, he had been with Flinders and Bass in the *Norfolk*, in the circumnavigation of Tasmania, and with Flinders in the succeeding expedition to the Queensland coast. He was one of those men gifted with special ability who by study qualify themselves to become accomplished officers in the Navy. Very justly, therefore, did Flinders enter his name in the chart of that part of the coast. The question of time had now become a matter of importance to the *Investigator*, and it was found impossible to survey the west and south sides of Kangaroo Island. A stretch of unknown land lay ahead of the ship, winter was coming on, and the question of provisions sufficient for the run to Port Jackson now called for nice calculation. On the 7th April the *Investigator* sailed through Backstairs Passage, and on the following day, late in the afternoon, hove to near the *Géographe*.

The meeting of Flinders and Baudin is an event of great interest in the geographical history of Australia. Its real significance has this peculiar characteristic—that much of its importance arose from the subsequent movements of the French Commander, and from the reports on them made later by some members of his staff. Accompanied by Robert Brown, who was to act as interpreter, Flinders, who at that time did not know the French language, went on board the *Géographe* and had an interview with Baudin. As a result of this first conversation he paid the Frenchman a second visit on the following morning, when he handed the other a copy of the latest published charts of Bass Strait and its neighbourhood. These charts were, without doubt, those published by Arrowsmith on 20th February 1801, on a single sheet, showing Port Dalrymple, the southernmost of Furneaux's Isles, Western Port and Twofold Bay, useful material for a French hydrographer. The interviews were carried on mostly in English, which Baudin spoke "so as to be understood". Flinders explained generally to the French Commander the extent of his operations, particularly regarding the two gulfs which he had so recently examined, not omitting to mention Port Lincoln, where fresh water might be found. Kangaroo Island, lying to the west in sight of the ships, was mentioned as a place furnishing food supplies, the nature of which had determined the name given to it. On his part Baudin, who, from Flinders' account, appears to have been more ready to give than to receive information, discussed his recent work in Tasmania, and after referring to the separation of the two ships stated that he had encountered a heavy gale in Bass Strait, "but having since had fair winds and fine weather he had explored the south coast from Western Port

to the place of meeting, without finding any river, inlet or other shelter which afforded anchorage". When Flinders inquired concerning a large island said to lie in the western entrance of Bass Strait, Baudin stated that he had not seen it, and seemed to doubt its existence. Before they parted the French Captain asked Flinders to inform the Commander of the *Naturaliste*, Captain Hamelin, in case the *Investigator* fell in with him, that it was his intention to go to Port Jackson when bad weather set in. In his instructions Sydney was not included as a place to be visited, but he now knew that he could rely on being well received there. Péron reports that at the first meeting of the two Commanders, which lasted over an hour, Flinders showed much reserve about his operations. The zoologist, who was not present at either interview, does not mention the discoveries east of Nuyts' Land which Flinders had referred to in his communications with the French Commander, nor does he mention the timely information as to food and water with which the expedition had been supplied. Péron's reserve, indeed, in these respects far exceeds the reticence of which he seems to accuse Flinders, and one does not fail to notice that he gave an inaccurate description of the chart given to Baudin by the English navigator.

It is necessary here to follow Flinders' movements after the two ships parted. He had just learnt from Baudin that the coast ahead of him had been explored as far as Western Port. In that region therefore he had, as it were, been forestalled. But Baudin had known nothing of the island lying at the western entrance of Bass Strait; this presented a field for investigation. Proceeding down the coast, and charting it as he went—for Flinders saw no reason for leaving a blank space on his own maps, even if the shores had been traced by the French—on the 17th April he came to the point, near Mt. Gambier, where Grant, in the *Lady Nelson*, had made the land just sixteen months before. "Terre Napoléon", it might be said, had suffered a great contraction, and, if the term had any meaning at all, merely consisted of about 150 miles of coast lying to the south-east of Encounter Bay. Compelled by bad weather to suspend his operations on the mainland, Flinders passed across to King Island to fix its position, and anchored at its north-east point on the 23rd. The stay was a short one, less than twenty-four hours, (there was not time for a complete survey of the island), but Robert Brown, the botanist, and Ferdinand Bauer, natural history painter, during two excursions ashore, made the most of their opportunity for securing specimens. This was Brown's first visit to Tasmanian territory, and the experience must have been satisfactory, for the plants collected near a small fresh-water lake not far from

the shore exceeded in number those that had been found on any of the islands examined since the ship left England. New Year Isles, on the north-west coast of King Island, discovered and named by Captain Black of the *Harbinger*, were noted by Flinders as he sailed north for Cape Otway.

"These isles", he remarked, "form a small roadstead, in which the brig *Harrington*, commanded by Mr. W. Campbell, had rode out the south-west gale; and was lying there at this time, engaged in a sealing speculation. Bass' Strait had not been discovered much above two years, and it was already turned to purposes of various utility; a strong proof of enterprising spirit in the colonists of New South Wales."

A great pleasure was now in store for Flinders, the joy that comes to an explorer in making a discovery of considerable importance. It was presently to be followed by the disappointment of finding that the honour due to a first comer was denied him, though he was too just a man to allow any expression of regret to escape through his pen. On the 26th April, when closely tracing the coast, he came upon the entrance to Port Phillip and although it seemed very narrow, with strong ripplings like breakers, steered the ship in, "close upon a wind and every man ready for tacking at a moment's warning". At first he thought he must be in Western Port, although the observed indications were far from agreeing with those belonging to that harbour. Yet Baudin had informed him that he had met with no inlet in this region. The truth soon became apparent to the navigator, and he congratulated himself on having made a new discovery. Six days only could be spent in the port, and in that time a preliminary survey was made of its southern area. The ascent of Arthur's Seat enabled him to appreciate the extent of the great sheet of water before him, for the northern shore, even at that height, could not be made out, while behind him lay Western Port, the discovery of his friend Bass. A three days' boat journey, the ascent of another hill, Station Peak, some miles inland from the western shore of the bay, and a visit to Swan Bay, completed the hurried investigations which were all that the time at his disposal permitted. As a naval officer the question of defence entered into his study of the newly found harbour: "Were a settlement to be made at Port Phillip, as doubtless there will be some time hereafter, the entrance could be easily defended." On the 3rd May the *Investigator* passed out through the Heads, and on the 9th she came to anchor in Sydney Cove.

The voyage of the ship from England to Port Jackson had lasted ten months. Quite apart from the outstanding utility of the discoveries made, and of the survey work carried out, whereby

knowledge concerning the south coast of Australia and of Bass Strait had been wrought into a methodical unity, the passage was notable in another respect. This belonged to the province of nautical hygiene, the health of the people who had helped to bring about this success. In that department Flinders had now proved himself a worthy descendant of Cook. He had studied his methods and had received lessons at first hand from Bligh, a pupil of the great master. Thus he was able to write :

"There was not a single individual on board who was not upon deck working the ship into harbour ; and it may be averred that the officers and crew were, generally speaking, in better health than on the day we sailed from Spithead, and not in less good spirits. The regulations observed were those adopted in the commencement of the voyage ; a strict attention to cleanliness, and a free circulation of air formed the most essential parts."

When Flinders arrived at Sydney he found the *Naturaliste* lying there, and he gave her captain news concerning the *Géographe* and Baudin's intention to make for that port when bad weather set in. The *Naturaliste* had spent the interval after the separation in an endeavour to find her consort and in making some investigations in the eastern part of Bass Strait and in Western Port. A short summary will suffice to cover these operations, which were of no importance in a geographical sense, except in the case of Western Port. On the day after the ships were separated the *Naturaliste* fell in with an English vessel making for Maria Island, as already related, and gave her information about the best places for sealing. On arriving at Banks Strait the *Naturaliste* met with the *Harrington* and received on board the people and boat belonging to the *Géographe*. Swan Island was at first made a centre, and later on Waterhouse Island, which had previously been fixed as a rendezvous. A boat journey was made to Preservation Island and Kent's Bay, and then Captain Hamelin went south as far as Maria Island, always searching, so it was stated, for the chief's ship. Returning to Waterhouse Island he hung about in its vicinity, while a boat journey was made to Port Dalrymple under the charge of Faure and L. Freycinet, for the purpose of verifying the details of Flinders' chart. Freycinet was able to report that while the principal features shown on the chart (Arrowsmith, 1800) were fairly accurate, it had been easier to notice than to correct many mistakes, the time at the disposal of the party not being sufficient to allow them to engage in detailed work ! This statement has its humorous side, though the French lieutenant was not aware of this. Elsewhere he stated that only a rapid view of the harbour was taken.

Crossing over to Wilson's Promontory and cruising in its neighbourhood, Hamelin sent some boat parties to reconnoitre the cape and Western Port. Faure, who examined the latter inlet, spent eight days there, and made a useful revision of Bass's sketch. The reason for these movements will appear later in connection with Baudin's work, and his interpretation of his instructions. The *Naturaliste* was now running short of food, and the French commander therefore decided to sail for Port Jackson. He had doubtless heard from the sealing vessels met with that the two French ships were expected at that port, and on the 25th April he anchored in the harbour. Governor King at once proved that he well knew how to extend a neighbourly as well as an official welcome to a ship in distress. Socially the visitors were received with the greatest cordiality and treated most hospitably. All requests on behalf of the ship for stores and provisions were complied with, and sick men were taken in at the hospital for treatment. Salt meat could not be provided because every one in the colony was at the time on short rations. The *Naturaliste* cleared out of Sydney on 18th May, and King, in a dispatch to Portland of 21st May 1802, stated that the remainder of her voyage was a secret. He concluded that she would soon return to the Isle of France through Bass Strait, and yet a little later he thinks that Hamelin intended to cruise off the coast till Baudin arrived. It is certain that the French captain, at this juncture, although he had received the message of his chief from Flinders, proposed to sever his connection with the expedition, and to return to the Isle of France. Louis Freycinet, acting-lieutenant in the *Naturaliste*, puts the case in these plain words:

"He shipped such provisions as were essential, and made for the south of Van Diemen's Land, but the full fury of the southern winter was experienced in those latitudes, and scurvy had already made its appearance on board the ship. It was useless to strive any longer against so many difficulties. The only reasonable expedient was an immediate rest. A northward course was ordered, and on the 28th June we entered Port Jackson."

The log of the *Naturaliste* during this six weeks' cruise might prove to be an interesting document. King learnt that the ship reached the South West Cape of Van Diemen's Land before she was compelled to turn back. There can be little doubt, therefore, concerning Hamelin's intention.

Governor King was now drawing together the threads of knowledge, as they came into his hands, concerning the operations of his foreign visitors. In the dispatch referred to above he was able to furnish a fairly good summary of their previous

movements, though their intentions for the future remained hidden. In a second dispatch of the same date he thought it well, in view of the recent discovery of Port Phillip, and of possible action by the French, to suggest to the Colonial Office the propriety of a settlement being made at that port. At the same time he urged that charts of Bass Strait, based on recent surveys, should be published without delay, for the advantage of ships bound for the colony. With Flinders' expedition to be attended to for refitment and provisioning, with the necessity of sending to Tahiti for salt pork, owing to shortage of local supplies, with the need for keeping a watchful eye on the activities of the French, with an expanding whale-fishery and some development in New Zealand, what might be called the " foreign affairs " of the colony were now making heavy extra calls on the Governor's energies.

To one unacquainted with the definite instructions that Baudin had received before leaving France, it might seem that when he met Flinders in Encounter Bay and learnt that the whole of the south coast of Australia west of that place had been surveyed by the English navigator nothing remained to be done, and that the French expedition might just as well turn away and devote itself to work in other directions. Such a course, however, would not have been in keeping with the intentions of the scientific bodies that had inaugurated the scheme and persuaded the First Consul, Bonaparte, to give it his sanction. It was known, when the expedition left Europe, that Tasmania's insular position had been proved, yet Baudin, who was provided with the chart published by Arrowsmith in 1800, received instructions to make a thorough investigation of Bass Strait, because it was held that more complete knowledge concerning it would be useful for scientific as well as for national purposes, and the same reasons applied to that part of the south coast of Australia, supposed at the time to be practically unknown territory. In view of such orders Baudin would naturally feel himself obliged to carry on the work, even when he learnt from Flinders how the *Investigator* had been engaged. The work of the *Naturaliste* in the strait, after the separation of the two ships, was in accordance with the whole scheme. It is probable, however, that the manner of the investigation of the western area of the strait that was carried out subsequently developed from the information concerning it received by Baudin from British sources during his visit to Sydney later in the year.

When the *Géographe* and the *Investigator* separated in Encounter Bay on 9th April, the French ship passed through

Backstairs Passage and made a hurried reconnaissance of the southern areas of the Gulf of St. Vincent and Spencer Gulf. The ship drew too much water, and the weather was far too bad, for useful work to be carried out, and the commander recognized that a second visit would be necessary. The health of the ship's company had become a matter for most serious consideration, but the leader persisted in carrying on as far as the Islands of St. Francis and St. Peter. On the 8th May it became necessary to stop further work and to make for Port Jackson, there to seek for refreshment and rest. To the consternation of all on board Baudin decided, instead of taking the direct route to Sydney through Bass Strait, to follow the longer course round the south coast of Tasmania. Several men had already died from scurvy, yet the commander, with his crew weakened by disease, and with a shortage of provisions, judged it better to lengthen the voyage and to run the risk of a more dangerous sea-passage. The *Géographe* anchored in Adventure Bay on 20th May and sailed for Sydney on the 22nd, after having taken in a supply of wood and water. Péron noted that the sea-ears, limpets and oysters, which formed, according to his previous observations, the principal part of the food of natives living in D'Entrecasteaux Channel, were rare in this bay, and drew the conclusion that that side of Bruny Island would possess little attraction for the inhabitants.

The voyage to Sydney proved a terrible experience for the afflicted crew of the *Géographe*. Thirteen days were spent, when passing up the east coast of Tasmania, in a vain endeavour under bad weather conditions to improve the geographical work previously carried out. This delay increased the state of exhaustion to which the sailors were now reduced, and L. Freycinet reports that on the 4th June only four of them were fit for duty, while Péron noted the fact that every day some of their unhappy companions were consigned to the ocean. At length, on the 17th June, the ship arrived off the heads of Port Jackson, but such was the deplorable condition of affairs on board that it was a physical impossibility for the remnant that still remained in fair health to work the ship into harbour. Fortunately the pitiable plight of the ship was noticed from the shore, and Governor King sent a party outside the heads to rescue the vessel and bring it into safety.

"Captain Baudin arrived in *Le Géographe* on June 20th", wrote Flinders, "and a boat was sent from the *Investigator* to assist in towing the ship up to the cove. It was grievous to see the miserable condition to which both officers and crew were reduced by scurvy. . . . The sick were received into the Colonial hospital and both French

ships (the *Naturaliste* returned to Sydney on June 28th) furnished with everything in the power of the colony to supply. Before their arrival the necessity of augmenting the number of cattle in the country had prevented the Governor from allowing us any fresh meat, but some oxen belonging to Government were now killed for the distressed strangers, and by returning an equal quantity of salt meat, which was extremely scarce at the time, I obtained a quarter of beef for my people. The distress of the French navigators had indeed been great, but every means were used by the Governor and the principal inhabitants of the colony to make them forget both their sufferings and the war which (had) existed between the two nations."

Rest, proper food and a fine climate soon restored the debilitated visitors to good health, and repairs that the ships badly needed were carried out. For five months the expedition remained at Sydney, and certainly all of its members had good reason to be grateful for the manner in which they were treated, and for the entertainment so freely offered to and accepted by them.

"All the officials and all the citizens of the colony", reported Péron, "hastened to our aid to make amends to us for our sufferings and to cause us to forget them. Our numerous sick, admitted into the government hospitals, received the greatest attention from the English surgeons. Everything in the way of resources that the country could offer was placed at our disposal. The Governor opened an unlimited credit for us at the public treasury. Thanks to this powerful aid we were able to clothe our people, who were in want of everything, to repair both ships, to purchase a third vessel, and to put ourselves in a condition to resume the voyage. At the same time our scientific researches received every encouragement. The whole country was thrown open for excursions by the naturalists, while guides and interpreters were supplied for the longer journeys. In short, the handsome behaviour of the Administration on our behalf was so extensive and so full of generosity that a failure to record an expression of our gratitude would be opposed to every principle of honour and justice."

The French scientists availed themselves fully of the opportunities thus presented to them, and by personal collections, by gifts and purchase, added considerably to the natural history accumulations already made. Péron, an accomplished observer, allowed nothing to escape him, and his picture of the state of the colony, though somewhat highly coloured, proves how keenly he seized every occasion to gather details and statistics concerning it. Owing to the depleted man-power of his two ships Baudin now decided to send the *Naturaliste* direct to France, taking with her all the collections that had been gathered in up to date, together with those men of the two ships that had become unfit for further service. Governor King permitted the French

commander to purchase a locally built schooner of about 30 tons. She was named the *Casuarina* from the timber (she-oak) of which she was constructed, and was intended to act as a tender to the *Géographe*, and to carry out surveys in shallow waters. Relations between the Governor and Baudin were of a most friendly description, and the French commander quite frankly disclosed to his host the purely scientific nature of the expedition, thus allaying the suspicions concerning it that King had naturally entertained.

Before leaving Sydney on the 22nd July to begin his circumnavigation of Australia Flinders entertained Captain Baudin, Captain Hamelin, and some of the other French officers, on board the *Investigator*. Péron was one of the party. On this occasion the English navigator showed his visitors one of his charts of the south coast of Australia, and Baudin then learnt to his surprise how small a part of his own work in that region included original discovery. On another occasion, at Government House, Henri Freycinet, addressing Flinders, said : " Captain, if we had not been kept so long picking up shells and catching butterflies at Van Diemen's Land, you would not have discovered the South Coast before us." An object of special interest to the foreign sailors was the whaleboat in which Bass had made his voyage of discovery to the strait bearing his name, and it was no less an object of esteem in the eyes of the colonists.

" Some snuff-boxes ", wrote Péron, " made from the wood of its keel form relics of which the possessors are as proud as they are careful. The Governor himself considered that he could not make a more honourable present to our chief than a piece of the wood set in a large silver box, around which were engraved the principal details of the discovery of Bass Strait."

Péron had an opportunity of meeting Bass, for the *Venus* returned from Tahiti and the Sandwich Islands with a cargo of pork and salt before the French ships left Sydney, and " this intrepid traveller ", as Péron called him, gave the naturalist a description of his attempt to cross the Blue Mountains in 1796. The French observer was particularly struck by the efforts being made to improve the quality of wool produced in the colony. John Macarthur was absent from New South Wales at the time, but Péron saw some of his flocks and inspected those of other breeders who recognized the advantage of introducing Spanish strains in their sheep. The attempts of the Government to cultivate vines for wine production had a special interest for Frenchmen ; they could see in it the possibility, if such efforts were successful, of a profitable source of income for their own country being transferred to a British possession. The chance that France

herself might eventually become a market for Australian wines would have appeared ludicrous to Péron's mind, had the suggestion of it been made to him, but he would have rejoiced at the idea that his country, in time to come, would benefit by the immense output of Australian wool.

At length the time arrived for the French ships to leave Sydney. The kindness and hospitality that he and his people had received there without stint made a deep impression on Baudin's mind. On the 16th November 1802, two days before the expedition sailed, he addressed a letter to the Governor which shows at once a certain simplicity of character and the sincerity of his feelings on this occasion. As a sailor responsible for the care of a number of people and in charge of such an expedition he knew well how to appreciate the benefits that had been bestowed so freely (Appendix A). This feeling was marked in another way. Baudin sent Mrs. King a sum of £100 for the benefit of the orphan children of Sydney.

Further evidence of the French commander's desire that adequate return for favours received might be made by his countrymen to British navigators is furnished by an open letter which he placed in King's hands. This was addressed to the Administrators of the Isles of France and Reunion, and in it, after stating how well his expedition had been treated at Port Jackson, he asked for reciprocal action in the event of a British warship visiting those islands. Blanks, to be filled in by Governor King, were left for the name of the commander and that of the ship. This remarkable document (see Appendix A), honourable alike to the British and to the French nation, does special honour to Baudin himself, and stands to his credit in the midst of much for which he has been blamed in his conduct of affairs and in his dealings with subordinates. It has been thought by some that when this letter was composed the writer intended it for the use of his fellow-worker in the field of scientific research, Matthew Flinders. Whether it was so or not, this considerate action, which later seemed to have a prophetic touch in it, suffered a fearful miscarriage, as will be seen later, and of this there is no certain explanation. However, as Baudin left twelve copies of the letter in King's hands it can hardly be claimed that it was meant exclusively for the benefit of Flinders.

Elephant Bay, on the east coast of King Island, was made a rendezvous for the French expedition when it sailed from Port Jackson, and on 6th December the three vessels came together at that indifferent anchorage. Three days later the *Naturaliste*, with her accumulations of specimens of natural history, sailed for France. After calling at the Isle of France she reached European

waters towards the end of May 1803, the month that Great Britain had been compelled, by the arrogance of Bonaparte, to declare war with France. This conflict, which was to last eleven years, was begun by a strict blockade of French naval ports. The *Naturaliste* was captured by a British man-of-war and taken to Portsmouth, but was very properly released a few days later and allowed to sail to Havre, where she arrived on the 7th June. Tales concerning Baudin's conduct as chief had already reached France, and it was held that the expedition had proved a failure. As a consequence the voyagers received a poor welcome, but it is necessary to remember that the whole country was busily preparing for a new and gigantic struggle under the despot Bonaparte, and natural history could not be expected to engage public interest greatly.

Baudin's object in making King Island a temporary centre was to complete his investigations of the western area of Bass Strait. He had doubtless received all available information about the island when at Sydney. The *Casuarina*, under Louis Freycinet, was sent off without delay, and spent nineteen days in a reconnaissance survey of the Hunter Island group. This area presented an opportunity for some original work, but the chart of it is of the sketchy nature usual in the output of the expedition. Robbins Island presents a good illustration of this lack of skill on the part of the French surveyors. It is shown as a peninsula on Freycinet's chart, and the neighbouring coasts, much broken in outline actually, are indicated by freehand curves and blank spaces. It is necessary, however, to draw a distinction between such methods and the care taken to fix astronomically the positions of principal stations along the routes followed by the French ships. To Faure was entrusted the task of making the first circumnavigation of King Island. This he accomplished by a boat-journey—carried out at considerable risk—which enabled him to provide a good outline sketch of its shape. Weather-bound for three days behind New Year Islands his party received welcome assistance from the sealers stationed there, who, in addition to food, presented them with some of their best furs.

The coasts of the island, with its outlying reefs, islets and rocks, are not attractive features of the country ; rather do they appear to sailing vessels defiant menaces to safe approach. The shores, however, had great interest for Péron, as a field for zoological study, and he was given a good opportunity for testing the food supplied by the woods. It happened that he, with four others of the scientific staff, found themselves cast away, as it were, for a few days, owing to the necessity for the *Géographe*

to make for open sea at short notice in bad weather, leaving them without sufficient food for their support. Fortunately their needs were supplied by some fishermen established at a sealing station on the north side of Elephant Bay. Living on food obtained on the island, kangaroos, emus, and wombats, the sealers carried on their work of procuring furs and oil under fairly rough conditions. Dense undergrowth made hunting impossible, and to overcome the difficulty they used trained dogs, which returned, after making a kill, to lead their masters to the prey. Wombats, being slow and stupid, were easily caught, and some of these animals were kept as domestic pets. At intervals vessels would call at the two stations on the island to leave empty barrels and take away those filled with oil, and any seal-skins in hand. From the sealers Péron gathered many details of the habits of the seals and of the sea-elephants which it was their business to kill and render down for their oil. No trace of the occupation of the island by natives was found. The French ships, having completed their work in Bass Strait, left King Island on the 27th December, and sailed for Kangaroo Island, to carry out a more detailed survey of the two important gulfs in its neighbourhood than had been possible in the preceding April.

While the *Géographe* was lying at Elephant Bay a somewhat ridiculous incident occurred, brought about by the ill-humour of Colonel Paterson. We cannot, as Péron suggested about it, " put on one side the painful reflections that such a subject inspires ", for the event had an important bearing on the settlement of Tasmania. Vexatious as it was to Baudin, the Governor had equal cause for displeasure, because he was thrust into a false situation by the perversity of his subordinate. Paterson was more suited by temperament and capacity to be a field-botanist than a soldier in command of a regiment, a position for which he did not possess the necessary self-discipline and the firmness of character required to hold in control some of the officers of the New South Wales Corps, always ready to break away from restraint when their personal interests were involved. The better relations between him and the Governor brought about after the former's duel with Captain Macarthur were of short duration, and King had to complain on several occasions of the Lieutenant-Governor's conduct in connection with unruly behaviour on the part of officers of the Corps. While the French ships were lying in Port Jackson, Paterson acted in a most hospitable manner towards the foreign scientists, especially Péron, who makes a dozen references to the Lieutenant-Governor, " a distinguished traveller and Fellow of the Royal Society of London". Accom-

panying the visitors on their excursions into the country he gave them all the information their numerous inquiries called for. On one occasion, perhaps on several occasions, he heard French officers speaking of some intention on the part of their Government to make a settlement in D'Entrecasteaux Channel. These remarks may have been made purely in fun, or they may have been "feelers" put forth by some of them for whom a wish for such action was "father to the thought." Whatever the motive, whether the conversation was serious or frivolous, it was clearly Paterson's duty to report it to the Governor. This he failed to do. He was out of touch with his chief, and his error must be put down either to foolishness or ill-temper, possibly both. Hardly had the ships sailed for King Island when the disturbing news came to King's ears, and in answer to his inquiry for details Paterson made the weak excuse that "the conversation was so general among the French officers that he could not suppose it was unknown to Governor King, otherwise he should have communicated the moment he heard of it, nor did he consider it anything more than commonplace conversation." He added that one of the officers who spoke of it had sent him some charts and these he forwarded to King.

The Governor promptly took the action he considered the situation demanded. He dispatched the colonial schooner *Cumberland*, 29 tons, under Acting-Lieutenant Charles Robbins, master's mate of the *Buffalo*, to King Island, with instructions to anchor either at Elephant Bay or under New Year Islands, from which places excursions to explore the island were to be made. As he had some idea that a settlement might presently be started there, Charles Grimes, Surveyor-General of New South Wales, together with a surgeon and a gardener, accompanied Robbins, to assist in gaining information regarding its resources. Robbins' real mission, however, was to convey diplomatically to the French commander, by words rather than by acts, an assertion of British possession, not only of Tasmania, but of King Island. Robbins carried a courteous letter from the Governor to Baudin, in which the former frankly stated the news he had heard about the French intentions, and mentioned the chart received by Paterson.

"You will easily imagine", wrote King, "that if any information of that kind had reached me before your departure I should have requested an explanation; but I knew nothing of it, and at present totally disbelieving anything of the kind ever being thought of, I consider it but proper to give you this information in case the *Cumberland* should fall in with your ships. The commander of that vessel has my directions to communicate to you the orders he is under."

Robbins, young and inexperienced, proved to be lacking in the tact required to deal with a delicate situation. Carried away by zeal and the importance of his mission he made an unnecessary and ostentatious assertion of British rights by landing a party of men at Elephant Bay, hoisting a flag near the tents of the French scientists, and firing a volley alongside it, accompanied by the usual cheers. "A frivolous ceremony in the eyes of those who little know English policy", remarked Péron, but, in a polite though slightly sarcastic official reply to King's letter, Baudin, after suggesting in teasing fashion that perhaps Robbins had come too late, denied the story that the Governor had heard, stated that he suspected Captain Kemp, of the N.S.W. Corps, of being its author, and refused to believe that his officers and naturalists could have given cause for it by their conversation. Baudin doubtless appreciated the friendly tone of King's letter, and understood the uncomfortable position in which he, as head of the colony, had been placed. In a lengthy and entirely cordial private letter, addressed to " Mr. King, my friend, for whom I shall always have a particular regard", a letter that exhibits Baudin in a very different and more favourable light than that by which we are compelled to view his conduct as leader of a scientific expedition, if the published accounts are to be accepted, he frankly disclosed how hurt he felt about the incident. After disclaiming any knowledge of the intentions of the French Government with regard to Van Diemen's Land, he wrote :

" That childish ceremony was ridiculous, and became more so by the manner in which the flag was placed, the head being downwards and the attitude not very majestic. Having occasion to go on shore that day, I saw for myself what I am telling you. I thought at first it might have been a flag which had served to strain water and then hung out to dry, but seeing an armed man walking about, I was informed of the ceremony which had taken place that morning. I took great pains in mentioning it to your captain, but our scientists, with whom he dined, joked about it, and Mr. Petit, of whose cleverness you are aware, made a complete caricature of the event. It is true that the flag sentry was sketched. I tore up this caricature as soon as I saw it, and gave instructions that such was not to be repeated in future. The hurried departure of the *Cumberland* was the reason why they left (*Sydney*) without so many necessaries. I gave Mr. Robbins, without regard to his having placed his flag over our tents, everything which he requested from me in the shape of gunpowder, sails, thread, needles, lead and sounding line, old ropes &c. Our forge worked two days for him. I was unable to replace the anchor which he had lost, having none to suit him."

Baudin closed his letter with some useful information about King Island, and warned the Governor that there was every

appearance of the seal fishery coming to an early end unless care was taken to protect the animals from the great slaughter that was taking place. (Appendix A.)

It must have been a source of some satisfaction to Baudin to contribute to Robbins' requirements. Friendly relations between British and French were maintained, and the whole "regrettable incident" came to an end with the departure of the foreign ships on 27th December. Robbins then continued the rough survey of the island which had been started by Surveyor Grimes when the schooner arrived at Elephant Bay. Grimes traversed the coast on foot, passing round the north end of the island. On the 19th he arrived opposite New Year Islands, where he expected to find the *Cumberland*. The schooner, however, like the *Géographe*, had been driven to the east by bad weather, and Grimes and his party, like Faure, were glad to receive hospitality from the sealers at work there. Robbins arrived on the 24th, and the whole party proceeded along the west coast, the work including a tramp across the island by Robbins. In such a manner was the first land survey of the island carried out. Grimes' chart, and his own and Robbins' reports, show how unfavourable was the opinion they formed concerning the eligibility of the country for settlement. By permission of Baudin, Captain Hamelin, when leaving for Europe, had taken as passengers on the *Naturalistes* Mr. Thomson, Acting Chief Surgeon of N.S.W., and his wife. This official, writing to Sydney from Elephant Bay, reported that seals, from continual harassing, seemed to have forsaken the island, and that sea-elephants, none of which were to be found on other islands in the strait, would seek other haunts for similar reasons. In one month the sealing-party stationed at Elephant Bay had filled up their casks, which contained 6,000 gallons, with oil obtained from fifty of these animals, but so indifferent had the sealing operations been that only 600 prime skins had been gathered during the preceding six months. Like Baudin he foresaw the loss that unrestricted slaughter of these valuable animals must bring to the industry.

Robbins left King Island on the 18th January, 1803, and sailed to Port Phillip, where Grimes made a traverse round the whole bay, discovering the Yarra River and making a careful examination of the surrounding country. The surveyor's chart, which had an important influence before the year ended on the question of the settlement of the port, presents a picture of a remarkably unattractive, barren country, with very bad soil and much swampy land. The only relief to be found in this dreary representation of the region is the river in the north,

with patches of good country, and the presence of some better soil in the district where Geelong now stands. Two others of the inspecting party reported in similar terms. The *Cumberland* returned to Sydney in March.

" Respecting the survey of King's Island and Port Phillip ", wrote King to Banks in May, " I am sorry to say, from the authority of the surveyor (Charles Grimes),—a kind of mineralogist (James Meehan) and a very good man, a gardener (James Flemming) that neither by any means answers my hopes. Their situations are very good in every other respect than being advantageous for cultivation, which some years hence may not be so material an object as it is at present."

By these recent surveys, coupled with those of Murray and Flinders, Governor King, as an administrator and a naval officer, was at last placed in a position to take a pretty accurate bird's-eye view of the whole region embraced by the nautical expression " Bass Strait ".

The French ships, after leaving King Island on the 27th December, arrived at Kangaroo Island on 2nd January, 1803, and after making a traverse of its southern and western coasts, (which Flinders had been compelled to cut out of his programme), followed the northern shore to an anchorage near Backstairs Passage. From here Baudin dispatched the *Casuarina* to examine the Gulf of St. Vincent and Spencer Gulf, allowing Louis Freycinet, who was in charge, twenty days for this work, and a supply of fresh water sufficient for one month. Freycinet carried out his mission and was able to take a rapid glance at Port Lincoln. He returned to Kangaroo Island a day behind the appointed time, and had the mortification to see the *Géographe* sailing away westwards out of sight. Once again, according to his subordinate, Baudin had failed as a Commander to keep in touch with his consort.

Baudin's Journal, which has never been published, but is fortunately available for reference, puts another complexion on this incident. The Chief had warned Freycinet, after giving King George Sound as a rendezvous, that he could not wait for the *Casuarina* if she did not return up to time, and he declares that the *Casuarina* sailed away, and, in fact, " abandoned " the *Géographe*, when the pair came in sight of each other after the former had surveyed the two gulfs. " I looked for him to arrive forthwith ", (he had noted after Freycinet's departure), " provided he carried out my instructions, which in my opinion is extremely doubtful, for the officers always hold the belief that they know more than those under whom they are serving."

The two vessels, after some independent work, came together

again on 18th February at King George Sound, finding there an American brig engaged on sealing. Carrying on, they improved the work of the previous year along the west and north coasts of Australia, and finally arrived at Coupang early in May. Here Baudin heard of the visit of Flinders a month before and of the bad state of the hull of the *Investigator*. The Dutch port proved again a danger-zone for navigators. Flinders' people, with all his care, did not escape, and the French crews suffered once more from those pestilent complaints, dysentery and fever. The astronomer, Pierre Bernier, who had devoted himself to his professional duties with the greatest zeal, died a few days after the ships left Coupang. Baudin, who was now suffering from an obstinate chest trouble, probably brought on by the hardships of the voyage, made an effort to continue his work towards the Gulf of Carpentaria, but his own health and that of his crews, an adverse monsoon, and shortage of water, compelled him to turn away, and the expedition set sail for the Isle of France, where the *Géographe* arrived on 7th August and the *Casuarina* five days later.

The return of the expedition to the French colony coincided with the arrival of Admiral Linois and his fleet, bringing General De Caen, Captain-General of the French forces in the East, with 800 troops, from the Coromandel Coast. The latter officer had gone there to take over Pondicherry from the British, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty of Amiens, but being warned in good time of a renewal of hostilities had extricated himself from a difficult position and slipped away to the Isle of France. Here, as Governor, he determined to defend the place against inevitable attack by British forces, the enemy whom he hated so heartily. As we have seen, his resistance was successful till 1810. Shortly after Baudin arrived at Port Louis, where he proposed to stay till the following December, he wrote a final letter to Governor King. He referred in this to the news he had received concerning Flinders at Timor, and expressed his sincere hope that the explorer had reached Sydney without misfortune. With regard to his own health he had been so ill that the doctors had often predicted his career was at an end, but since his arrival he had been slowly progressing towards recovery. The letter ended with expressions of continued friendship and with cordial messages to the Governor's family and other friends in Sydney (Appendix A). A month later the Commander ended his days, and was buried with the honours due to his naval rank.

The death of its leader before the expedition terminated leads to the question whether it was fortunate for him that his end came at such a time. When the *Géographe* reached France

in 1804 there was no fine official or national welcome for the shattered remnants of the select company that had started forth with such high hopes in 1800, and Baudin was held to be the cause of all the troubles met with. Malte-Brun, a geographer of the highest standing in Europe and a personal friend of Péron, in a review of the first volume describing the voyage, when it appeared in 1807, perhaps furnishes the key to the disunion between Baudin and his staff. We are reminded of the discord and bitterness which differences in political opinion created amongst the members of the expedition commanded by D'Entrecasteaux. Malte-Brun's criticism is marked by the vigorous language he knew well how to employ, when he thought the case demanded it (27).

"Everything seemed to promise for this Expedition a most brilliant success and one most fruitful for Science. But alas! The spirit of petty personal intrigue, that malevolent spectre, born of the former civil dissentions of France, inflated under the influence of feeble and corrupt Courts, grown to be all-powerful under the rule of so-called Liberty, that spirit which checks so many useful and fine actions, was a fatal main-spring in the choice of the Commander of the expedition for discovery in southern lands. If we are to believe the authors of this narrative, those interesting voyagers who, at the call to glory, pressed forward into a dangerous sphere of action, they saw themselves handed over to the folly of a Chief who disregarded all his instructions, ran foul of all the obstacles he had been told to avoid, did not know how to take advantage of winds or currents, threw impediments in the way of research work it was his duty to facilitate, and to complete his wrongdoing, sacrificed the health and existence of all his companions to sordid avarice or to a reprehensible lack of foresight. One is appalled at the picture the author of the story of this voyage draws of the sufferings he shared with the other members of the expedition, sometimes struggling in frail boats against the fury of the elements, to which the Chief had consigned them, or engaging in a contest, slower but more fatal, against hunger, thirst and the diseases that beset them."

Though the influence of Péron is plainly to be seen in this recitation of woes, it is evident that hostile feeling towards the commander grew with the tales that were told of the voyage. It has been asserted that Bonaparte remarked, "Baudin has done well to die; had he returned I might have hung him" (28). Whether this story is true or not it illustrates the ordeal the leader would have been called upon to face had he lived to reach France. Unquestionably he would have preferred to meet his accusers, and he would have done so with composure, and had

(27) Note.
(28) Note.

something worthy of notice to say on his own behalf. For we have been presented with but one side of the picture, and there was, without doubt, another side to it. Because of that the letters written by him to Governor King have their special value, for they show him, as has been said, in another light. For that reason we must regret that he had no opportunity to defend himself. Unlike D'Entrecasteaux, he had no Rossel to tell a plain unvarnished tale, and his Journal therefore is a record of great importance. The two persons who were responsible for the published account of the voyage, Péron and Louis Freycinet, had not one word of praise for their chief, but many of condemnation. Péron carried his vindictiveness so far that in the volume and a half completed by him he did not mention Baudin's name once, but spoke of him by his official title, as chief or commander. And yet those two men, but especially Péron, were guilty of a peculiar kind of falsification. In order to create a better impression of the geographical success of the expedition they both claimed that Port Phillip had been observed by the officers of the *Géographe*, they deliberately ignored the fact that Flinders had anticipated the French in discovery, and they gave names to places that they knew must have been named by him. Malte-Brun, in an emphatic protest against the letter procedure, stated in 1814 that when Péron wrote his account he was no longer ignorant of the facts concerning Flinders' work and that of Grant on the south coast of Australia, but he added that "an express order" from high authority had prevented Péron from telling all the truth (29). The place-names so freely bestowed by the French navigators have since been swept away, except in those parts first visited by them, but it is fairly certain that had Baudin lived and been allowed to publish his version of the voyage he would have presented a cleaner and more straightforward account of the geographical results achieved. The sins of omission and commission of Péron and Freycinet with respect to their narratives have this as a consequence: that they throw a shadow, perhaps a deep shadow, of doubt upon the abusive descriptions of Baudin's acts as a leader.

Certain manuscripts found amongst General De Caen's numerous papers, and only brought into public notice a century after Péron's death, have implicated his name and that of his friend, Louis Freycinet, in a transaction that can hardly have been directed by those superior orders that controlled the naturalist's pen, according to Malte-Brun, regarding Flinders' discoveries. During the four months that the *Géographe* stayed at Port Louis on the homeward journey Péron was brought into contact with

(29) Note.

De Caen, and some days before the ship left for Europe he handed to the Governor a lengthy report on New South Wales. Much of the matter it contains is included in the published account of the voyage, but there is, in addition, material that was of a highly confidential nature, information which proves that this accomplished observer had used his opportunities, while enjoying the unlimited hospitality bestowed on himself and his compatriots in the colony, to play the part of a spy on behalf of his country. De Caen had been sent by the First Consul to the East to oppose and thwart the British in every possible way, and civil and military intelligence gleaned by such an expert as Péron would be welcome to him, both in his capacity as commander of the French forces and as a thorough hater, like Bonaparte himself, of the belligerent foes of his country. A special feature of this report is Péron's assertion, which is entirely lacking in documentary support, that the real object of the Baudin expedition had been to carry out a political undertaking of the first importance, and not merely to make natural history collections. A few extracts will suffice to show how Péron and L. Freycinet discharged what were, without doubt, self-imposed tasks (30).

"It was necessary that, strangers in appearance to all political designs, we should occupy ourselves only with natural history collections. . . . It was far from being the case, however, that our true purpose had to be confined to that class of work, and if sufficient time permitted it would be very easy for me, Citizen Captain-General, to demonstrate to you that all our natural history researches, extolled with so much ostentation by the Government, were merely a pretext for its enterprise . . . our expedition was in its principle, in its purpose, in its organisation, one of those brilliant and important conceptions which ought to make our present Government for ever illustrious. Why was it that, after having done so much for the success of these designs, the execution of them was confided to a man utterly unfitted in all possible respects to conduct them to their proper issue? . . . I venture to assure you, General, that you can rely upon my jealous exactitude in fulfilling as far as was in my power the intention of the Government of my country. I have neglected no means of procuring all the information that as far as I could foresee would be of interest. I was received in the house of the Governor with much consideration. He and his secretary spoke our language well. The commandant of the troops of New South Wales, Mr. Paterson, a member of the Royal Society of London, a very distinguished savant, always treated me with particular regard. I was received in his house, as one might say, as a son. I have through him known all the officials of the colony. . . . My functions on board permitted me to hazard the asking of a large number of questions which would have been indiscreet on the

(30) Note.

part of another, particularly on the part of soldiers. . . . Van Diemen's Land, and especially the magnificent Dentrecasteaux Channel, have excited their cupidity. Another establishment has probably been founded there since our departure from Port Jackson. . . . My opinion, and that of all those among us who have more particularly occupied themselves with enquiries into the organization of that colony (New South Wales) is that it should be destroyed as soon as possible. . . .

Post Script. M. Freycinet, the young officer, has especially concerned himself with examining all the points upon the coast of the environs of Port Jackson which are favourable to the landing of troops. He has collected particular information concerning the entrance to the port ; and if ever the Government should think of putting into execution the project of destroying this freshly set trap of a great Power, that distinguished officer would be of valuable assistance in such an operation."

We have to contrast Péron's positive assertions concerning " the true purpose " of the expedition with the private instructions issued by the Minister of Marine to Baudin shortly before the voyage began (31). These, like Péron's report to De Caen, have only recently been brought to light, and how different is their tone from the crafty confessions of the naturalist !

" I shall not enlarge further ", wrote the Minister, " upon those matters that concern only your conduct of the internal affairs (of the expedition), and surely you have already pondered over the course you will pursue with the representatives of Foreign Powers, whenever you may be brought into contact with them. Sailing the seas under the Parliamentary flag, and the whole of your work having as its purpose only the improvement of Science, you should maintain an attitude of the most complete neutrality, nor should you allow any doubt to arise concerning your rigour in confining yourself to the object of your mission, namely, that which is declared in the pass-ports handed over. It will accordingly be proper for you, when you appear before foreigners, to exact from all those who accompany you the decorum and restraint in keeping with the character with which you have been invested. Honour the French name in every country you visit ! "

It has been stated that, in war, it is essential to the character of a spy that he should act clandestinely or on false pretences, and the Great War has illustrated to what lengths his dangerous business may necessarily extend, in order to be successful. Carried out in times of peace his pursuits seem to take on a different complexion, but entered upon under the special conditions in which Péron and L. Freycinet worked, they must surely meet with no small measure of contempt, coupled with considerable loss of respect for the perpetrators. Péron's great

(31) Note.

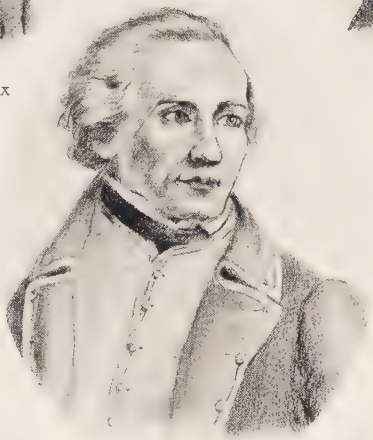
services as a scientist to his country and to universal knowledge were such that his lapse to base and shabby practices provokes a feeling of resentment that he should have allowed it to occur.

The *Géographe* reached France in March 1804. She carried back four only of the twenty-five scientists and painters who had set out in 1800, namely, Péron, Bailly, the mineralogist, and the two artists Lesueur and Petit. Leschenault, the botanist, had left the expedition at Timor, on account of his health, and returned to Europe by another route. The chilly reception given to the voyagers, and the assertions regarding the failure of the expedition, roused Péron to take action in its defence, and he was so far successful that the French Government, acting on a favourable report from the Imperial Institute, made in 1806, agreed that an account of the voyage should be published. The historical part was entrusted to Péron, and L. Freycinet was made responsible for the nautical section. Péron's health had been undermined by the privations of the voyage, and he only lived long enough to see the issue of the first of the three volumes published. He died in 1810, but not before he had received from his countrymen honours and recognition for his labours in the cause of science. The other members of the expedition shared in the success achieved. Cuvier, the zoologist and permanent secretary of the Imperial Institute, in the report already referred to, stated that the tangible results of the voyage consisted of over 100,000 specimens, which included several new genera and more than 2,500 species, and he claimed that the work of the scientists made known more new examples of the animal kingdom than the united efforts of all other travelling naturalists in the eighteenth century.

The publication of the atlas to accompany the account of the voyage could not be made till 1812. Freycinet pushed the work ahead as fast as possible. He was anxious that the world should see his maps before those of Flinders appeared. He won the contest, but failed to secure any prize. The charts dealing with Tasmania were produced too late to be of any practical use, for the settlement of the island deprived them of geographical value. Nevertheless, they remain as historical documents connected with a voyage which must always have a profound interest for Tasmanians and Australians, partly on account of its scientific results, but chiefly for its display of intensely human passions and infirmities brought into being by the aspirations and rivalry of the two great civilized powers.

D'ENTRECASTEAUX

FLINDERS



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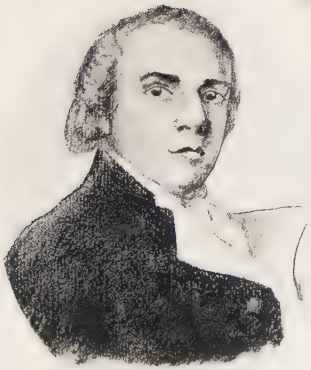


BASS

BAUDIN

PORTRAITS OF EXPLORERS:—*From studies by Miss V. Hose The portraits of Cook and D'Entrecasteaux are reproduced by courtesy of the Royal Geographical Society from French engravings in its possession.*

CHAPTER XV

THE ISLAND—FIRST SETTLEMENTS, 1803–1804

THE arrival of the French in Australian waters had created, as we have seen, serious misgivings in Governor King's mind concerning the intentions of the expedition. His doubts were considerably allayed during the visit of the ships to Sydney when Captain Baudin, to prove the innocence and sincerity of the undertaking, showed him all the orders he had received with regard to it, and described the work already carried out. King, on his part, and probably by design, discussed with the French commander a scheme that was afoot for a new settlement to the southward of New South Wales. Péron's information on this subject was good, and in his report to De Caen in December 1803, he referred, not only to an intention to settle the southern part of Van Diemen's Land, but to the probability of another establishment being located either at Western Port or at Port Phillip.

This scheme of a southern settlement was not a new one. The discovery of Bass Strait, a new gateway to the colony, had given birth to it. At first the idea had been confined to the neighbourhood of the strait, and in December 1801, in a report on the state of the colony, the Governor had indicated either Port Dalrymple or Western Port as a proper place for such a development, basing his views on the work of Bass and Flinders. In May 1802, after the discovery of Port Phillip, and when he had heard the favourable opinions of Murray and Flinders on the new harbour, King forwarded a reasoned and definite suggestion to the home authorities on the propriety of a settlement being made at that place. This plain statement was responded to by the Colonial Office with an alacrity it seldom displayed in those days in its treatment of the proposals and requests of "the man on the spot". It will be convenient here, in order to fix the ideas, to tabulate the three movements that led to the genesis of Tasmania as a colony.

(1) Expedition under the command of Lieutenant John Bowen, initiated and sent by Governor King in 1803 to form a

settlement at *Risdon Cove* on the Derwent River. The first party of Bowen's people arrived at the Cove on the 8th September, and he himself landed on the 11th.

(2) Expedition under the command of Lieutenant-Governor David Collins, initiated by the Colonial Office (on the receipt of Governor King's dispatch of the 21st May 1802), for the formation of a settlement at Port Phillip. Finding this port unsuitable, Colonel Collins, with the consent of Governor King, passed on to the Derwent River and established his settlement at *Sullivan Cove* in February 1804.

(3) Expedition under the command of Colonel William Paterson, Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, initiated by the Colonial Office for the formation of a settlement, with settlers from Norfolk Island, at *Port Dalrymple*. The party arrived there in November 1804.

(1) Risdon Cove

The descriptions given by Bass and Flinders of the Derwent River and the surrounding country were the first to direct attention to their suitability for the establishment there, when the time came, of a new centre of colonization. No doubt Governor King discussed with Baudin in their friendly conversations the discoveries that had been made in that region during recent exploration, but it was the country nearer at hand, on the shores of Bass Strait, that was then engaging his particular attention. The incident that brought about the diplomatic mission of Lieutenant Robbins in the *Cumberland* to meet the French commander, with its special reference to the reported intentions of the French Government with regard to D'Entrecasteaux Channel, and the doubts it raised in the Governor's mind, were sufficient reasons for prompt action. Writing to Lord Hobart on 23rd November 1802, a few days after the French ships had left Sydney, he described what had taken place, and added :

"It is my intention, as soon as the *Porpoise* arrives, to dispatch her with a small establishment to the most eligible place at Storm Bay Passage, and one at Port Phillip or King's Island. Your Lordship's instructions on these points I shall be glad to receive as soon as possible."

Although King's chief reason for dispatching a party to the Derwent was to forestall any action either by Baudin or by some other officer sent later on by the French Government, he had in view other purposes. Mere occupation was not an end in itself. In a letter to the Admiralty, written in May 1803, he mentioned his wish to divide up the convicts, as it was always

well to break up the parties of those who were discovered to be plotting together. He wanted also to secure another place for obtaining timber and any other natural and useful productions, and for the promotion of seal fishing. A noteworthy feature of the Governor's policy at this period was his anxiety about the production of corn. Recognizing that a colony to be completely successful should be more than self-supporting, the discovery of good land fit for cultivation was the important problem. Stock raising in the mother colony, provided it was carefully fostered, had become a settled question, and the promise of the profitable production of fine wool for export, from sheep crossed with Spanish strains, was now becoming more assured. Of all the outlying localities that had been explored north and south of Bass Strait the lower valley of the Derwent had provided by far the most hopeful reports concerning tracts of land suitable for cultivation.

With the best of intentions, but with limited means at his disposal, it was not possible for the Governor to push off an expedition at once, and a delay of some months occurred. His chief difficulty was to find a competent leader, and he was glad to meet with a young naval officer, Lieutenant John Bowen, who offered his services for the position. Bowen arrived in Sydney on 11th March 1803, with several letters of recommendation to the Governor. He was the son of Captain John Bowen, who had been master in the *Queen Charlotte*, Lord Howe's flagship in the battle of the 1st of June 1794, and he was a nephew of Lieutenant Richard Bowen, who had been naval agent in the *Atlantic*, the store-ship in which Governor Phillip had returned to England. John Bowen was also recommended by the Captain of the *Glatton*, the naval ship in which he held a commission, from whom he received permission to leave the ship in order that he might act as superintendent of the proposed settlement. "As he is a steady young man", wrote King to Banks, "I hope we shall have good accounts of his essay". The *Glatton* also provided a surgeon for the new establishment in the person of Mr. Jacob Mountgarret, who was made a magistrate to assist Bowen in his new duties.

The Governor's instructions to Bowen, dated the 28th March 1803, appointing him to command and superintend the settlement, directed that Risdon Cove was to be its site. After the necessary measures had been taken for securing the safety of stores and provisions, land was to be cleared on public account for the cultivation of wheat and other plants, and the superintendent was ordered to report upon the soil, the quantity of land suitable for cultivation, the timbers found there, and other matters. Meteorological observations were to be made, the

observances of religion attended to, the free settlers, Messrs. Birt and Clark, as being the first, were to be allotted 200 acres each, but no trading with visiting ships was to be allowed, nor were any decked boats exceeding twenty feet keel to be built. In a confidential order Bowen was instructed, in case any French ships or those of any other nation attempted to form an establishment in his neighbourhood, to inform the foreign commander of His Majesty's claim to the whole of Van Diemen's Land. This assertion of rights was to be carried out without any act of hostility, if it could be avoided, but under no condition was he to allow His Majesty's flag to be insulted. No written instructions were given to Bowen regarding the treatment of natives, but no doubt he received verbal advice on that point. There was no secrecy about the little expedition, for a Government and General Order of the 29th March proclaimed the expediency of establishing His Majesty's right to Van Diemen's Land, and published the names of the staff, Lieutenant Bowen, Surgeon Mountgarret, and Mr. Williams, storekeeper.

King's jealous custody of British fishing rights is illustrated by the case of a French sealing schooner fitted out at the Isle of France. He had given permission, in September 1802, to the master of this vessel, which had sought refuge at Port Jackson to repair damages, to carry on temporary sealing operations on the coast or islands of New South Wales until definite instructions on the subject should be received from the home Government. Cape Barren and its adjacent islands and King Island were excluded from this concession, those areas having already been allocated to local speculators. "The French schooner I mentioned in a former letter", wrote the Governor later on to the Colonial Office, "which arrived here from the Isle of France to catch seals in the Straits, was lost among the Cape Barren Islands, which may stop any more adventures from that quarter." According to Péron the restricted licence granted to the foreign sealers was obtained by the intercession of Baudin, but the French writer was furious at the Governor's decree against poaching, and seemed to hold the British responsible for the wreck, which was unfortunately accompanied by considerable loss of life. After describing the catastrophe, which took place at the Two Sisters, Péron wrote :

"Such was the sad fate of the first French ship to appear in these seas, and the designs of the English Government towards foreigners are so rigorous that one can predict similar disasters for European ship-owners who may wish to carry on such speculations in those distant countries under present conditions."

Transport for the band of colonists, staff, soldiers, settlers

and convicts, was not ready till June, and on the 11th of that month Bowen sailed in the *Lady Nelson* from Sydney. Before leaving he received a final memorandum of instructions which shows how carefully the Governor had considered the conditions that would arise when the party landed, and the young superintendent began to organize his outpost. The departure of the expedition was recorded by the *Sydney Gazette*, which had recently been established on a new basis. It is of interest to note such a record, for 1803, which marks the birth of the colony of Tasmania, was also the birth-year of the Press in Australia. Writing to Lord Hobart in May, King mentioned that he had given permission to "an ingenious man, who manages the Government printing press, to collect materials weekly, which, being inspected by an officer, is published in the form of a weekly newspaper." The name of this "ingenious man" was George Howe (1769–1821).

On the day after the *Lady Nelson* sailed the *Porpoise* left Port Jackson with the balance of the party, the complete company consisting of some 9 soldiers, 4 settlers, and 35 convicts, of whom at least three were women. It was a bad season of the year for the trip, and winter storms drove both vessels back to harbour, where they arrived the first week in July. The *Lady Nelson* had been compelled to seek shelter for a week in Twofold Bay, and lost part of her main centreboard on the return to Sydney. After repairs had been effected a second attempt was made in August. She sailed on the 21st, but was forced to return two days later. The *Porpoise* was now no longer available for a voyage to the south, and the whaler *Albion* was hired to take her place. Flinders had returned to Sydney on the 9th of June, having made a complete circumnavigation of the continent, in the course of which he had surveyed the east coast of Australia, Torres Strait, the Gulf of Carpentaria and part of the north coast. The *Investigator*, having been found to be in bad condition, it was arranged by the Governor, in consultation with Flinders, that the *Porpoise* should proceed to England with the navigator on board as a passenger. On 10th August the *Porpoise* set out from Sydney in company with two other ships, the *Cato* and the *Bridgewater*, on the voyage that so soon ended in disaster for the two first-named vessels on the coral islet that has since borne the name of Wreck Reef.

Bowen's third attempt to reach the Derwent River was successful. On the 28th of August the *Lady Nelson*, under the command of Lieutenant George Curtoys, and after an uneventful run, anchored in Risdon Cove on the 8th of September. Bowen travelled in the *Albion*, leaving harbour two days after the smaller

vessel, and he arrived at the Cove on the morning of the 11th of September. A blunt, homely letter of Captain Bunker, master of the *Albion*, addressed to King, tells us how Bowen came to the Derwent (32).

At Sea, 5th October, 1803.

"I am happy to inform His Excellency that I have bin at Vandaman Land, and landid the stock and stowers on acc't of Government. We had 12 days passige, with 3 days that we ly in Oyster Bay, with light airs from the Sd. We obtained 3 sperm whales in sight of Oyster Bay. His Excellency mention'd of landing the stock at Relph's Bay, but Mr. Bowen and myself thought it most prudent to run up within 3 miles of Resdon Cove, and with lashing 2 of my whaleboats side to side we got them on shore very well. Capt. Cotoyes arrived 5 days before me. I am happy to inform His Excellency that the Derwent River is one of the handsomest rivers I ever saw. There is not one rocky point all the way up the river, and every bay affords a fine run of excellent water. One that I saw runs with fourse sufishent to turn a mill. I'm informed by Capt. Cotoyes that Relph's Bay is shoal. My short stay would not admite time to sound it. We lost one small cow on the passige, but I believe she was hurt coming on board. We had a gail of wind the 2'd night after our departure from Port Jackson, from the N.E., and a bad sea, so I hove the ship too on acc't of the stock. I hope Mrs. King and the little gairl is well. Governor Bowen sends Mrs. King a p'r black swans, which he bages her exceptance. I have, &c

E. Bunker

P.S. I thank your Excellency to let me have 150 ackeres of land more at the Hawksbary River, as I have only tackin 50 at Vandaman Land, E.B. I send your Excellency a p'r of swans, which I bage his exceptance."

Bowen had to report a heavier loss of public stock, the result of the "gail", than Bunker admitted, and the commandant and settlers lost private stock in addition. It is evident that Bowen was not bound down to Risdon Cove if a superior site for the new settlement could be discovered. He reported that there were so many fine spots on the borders of the river that he was a little puzzled to fix upon the best place, but as there was a much better stream of fresh water falling into Risdon Cove than into any of the others, and very extensive valleys lying at the back of it, he judged it the most convenient, and accordingly disembarked all the men and stores, and set to work to secure them from the weather. From an examination of Herdsman's Cove he was of opinion that it would be the best place for settlers, the banks being more like a nobleman's park in England than an uncultivated country, and many places standing ready for

(32) Note.

the plough. Some natives were seen when the ships arrived, but they were very shy and retired from the Cove. Bowen considered he would be well off if he never saw them again.

In such fashion was initiated this, the baby stage, in the existence of the colony. For good and for evil the new order demanded by human progress started to replace that old condition of life within the land that was in reality prehistoric, a relic of ancient times that had so persisted, owing to complete isolation, that it now seemed to be an unwanted and inconvenient intruder in the realms of modern civilization. The geographical phase in the history of the island, during which white men had dealt merely with its coasts, without penetrating inland, was now at an end, but the feeble effort under the leadership of Bowen to lay the foundations of a permanent establishment proved to be short-lived, and the venture was soon absorbed in the far more important movement, controlled by an experienced leader, which next claims attention. One act of Bowen, however, associated with his occupation of the limited valley selected for his settlement, should be mentioned here. Writing his second dispatch to the Governor on the 27th of September he headed it "Hobart, Van Diemen's Land". This was the first official use of the name given to the new outpost, probably under instructions from King, in honour of Robert, Lord Hobart, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in the stop-gap administration under Henry Addington, which succeeded that of Pitt in March 1801, and came to its "unlamented end" in May 1804, in order that The Pilot might take the helm once more. The crisp name "Hobart" (but with an awkward and unnecessary tail added to it) was transferred to the new site when Bowen's venture merged into that of Colonel Collins', and it was not until 1881 that the origin and simple form was restored.

(2) Sullivan Cove

We have seen how the growth of knowledge concerning the country and harbours fronting Bass Strait corresponded with the development of the idea, early existent in Governor King's mind, that an out-settlement should be formed at one or other of the eligible situations discovered. How at first the preliminary work of Bass and Flinders offered only a choice between Western Port and Port Dalrymple, with the evidence in favour of the southern port; how the subsequent discoveries and surveys of Murray and Flinders extended the choice to King Island and Port Phillip, the balance being now in favour of the latter port, how later on the Governor's hopes of either of these places were dashed by the discouraging reports of Robbins and

Grimes; and, finally, how the presence of French surveying ships seemed to render prompt action a matter of national necessity. It was the central stage of this progressive process that induced the home authorities, acting upon King's dispatch of the 31st May 1802, wherein he laid stress on the suitability of Port Phillip, to organize an expedition for the purpose of founding there a new colony under the jurisdiction of New South Wales. It was, in fact, part of the general policy of the British Government at that time to check, if possible, any French efforts towards colonial expansion. Although the two Powers were at peace at the moment, the position was in reality merely "a prolonged armistice". Political prudence was not the only motive force behind this new development. The Colonial Office held the view (probably the outcome of a suggestion made by King that dispersal of convicts was now called for) that New South Wales required a period of internal improvement, rather than additions to its numbers of felons. Lord Hobart pictured the situation in quaint fashion: "If you continually send thieves to one place, it must in time be super-saturated. Sydney, I think, is now completely saturated. We must let it rest and purify for a few years, and it be again in condition to receive." Banks thoroughly approved of the new proposition, and at once visualized the early construction of an overland route between Sydney and Port Phillip. A third consideration in connection with the proposed colony was the hope it held out of commercial expansion, due no doubt to the success of the seal fishery already established. Apparently it was overlooked that this industry was one doomed to early extinction from its comparatively small field of operations, while the importance of the growing whaling business, with the wide ocean as a source of supply, was perhaps not yet appreciated in England at its potential value, though this was well understood by the increasing mercantile community of Sydney.

The task of selecting a leader for the new expedition was an easy one for the Colonial Office. When Colonel Collins retired in 1796 from his position as Judge-Advocate of New South Wales to live in England on half-pay, and in the hope of further employment, he devoted his leisure to literary pursuits, aided thereto by the liberal education he had received, superior to that of the majority of the sailors and soldiers of his day. His indispensable work, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, of which the first volume was published in 1798, and the second in 1802, took its place in the classic history of the organization of the mother colony in Australia from its formation, and established his reputation as an authority on the

subject. In 1800 he put forward an important suggestion that a special department should be created in the Colonial Office, with an officer at its head who had personal experience of the colony and its affairs, to regulate correspondence and advise the Secretary of State and the Under-Secretary concerning its situation, when information of the kind was required. For such an office he offered his own services. The scheme was a sound one, and the principle, allowing for changed conditions, is one that is now well recognized as essential for the easy working of widely separated parts of the Empire. Had Collins' modest proposal been put into practice and maintained there must have ensued a better understanding on the part of the Colonial Office of the essential requirements of the colonies, and fewer distressing failures to supply their needs in the right sort of men and of material.

Lord Hobart forwarded Colonel Collins his commission as Lieutenant-Governor of the proposed settlement, together with a dispatch, dated the 7th February 1803, containing the instructions by which he was to be guided in the management of the new colony. A week later the Secretary of State wrote to Governor King informing him of the new scheme and enclosing a copy of the instructions handed to Collins. Those instructions, while comprehensive in their scope, were clear and concise in their expression. As the young colony was to be a dependency of New South Wales, the laws and regulations of the elder would also run in the younger country. Because of their bearing on subsequent events several of the orders received by Collins call for notice here, but any study of Collins' career as a governor demands a full apprehension of all.

"Upon your arrival at every place you touch at you will endeavour to obtain such further quantities of seed grain and of the seeds of vegetables and fruits as you may think requisite for the purposes of cultivation at the place of your destination.—According to the best information, Port Phillip, on the southern coast of New South Wales, to the northwards of Bass's Streights, appears to be the most eligible situation for the intended settlement, possessing a commodious harbour and other important advantages.—You are to endeavour by every means in your power to open an intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their good will.—You will, of course, immediately endeavour to procure such kinds of animal food as the place can supply, and you will be particularly careful to cure whatever surplus of fish that may be caught, and to serve it out in rations for the supply of the settlement.—Although Port Phillip has been pointed out as the place judged the most convenient and proper for fixing the first settlement of your establishment in Bass's Streights, nevertheless you are not positively restricted from giving the preference to any other part of the said southern coast of New South Wales, or any of the islands in Bass's

Streights which, upon communication with the Governor of New South Wales, and with his concurrence and approbation, you may have well-grounded reasons to consider as more advantageously situated for that purpose ; but you must understand that you are not to delay the disembarkation of the persons under your command upon your arrival on the coast, with a view of searching for a more eligible place than Port Phillip."

For transport the expedition was given H.M.S. *Calcutta*, Captain Daniel Woodriff, and the ship *Ocean*, 481 tons, commanded by Mr. John Mertho. The Lieutenant-Governor travelled to Australia in the naval ship, which had on board some of the civil staff, most of the military force, marine officers and men, about 40 in all, some 300 convicts, 16 women, wives of well-conducted convicts, and their children. The *Ocean* carried the remainder of the marines and of the civilian staff, about 18 settlers, with their families, and the Government stores intended for the colony. The number of children forming part of the expedition is unspecified, but it may be put down as over thirty. The ships sailed from Spithead on 24th April 1803. Calls were made at Teneriffe, Rio, and the Cape. They parted company in heavy weather after leaving Rio. Only the *Calcutta* put in at the Cape, where Collins bought live stock and seed-corn, in accordance with his instructions. On 9th October his ship entered Port Phillip, where she found the *Ocean*, which had arrived two days before. The ships anchored some eight miles from the Heads, near the present site of Sorrento, on the eastern shore of the bay.

Collins' first care was to find a convenient site for his intended settlement, and he went ashore, accompanied by Captain Woodriff, on the day following his arrival. The result was discouraging, for fresh water was only to be obtained by sinking casks in the sandy soil to act as wells. On the two following days an examination was made of the western side of the bay, and the party, as Woodriff reports, returned to the ship, " not having been able to discover any fresh water or an eligible situation to establish the colony, in consequence of the extensive flats (shallows) running so far off the shore." Thus three days had been spent on a fruitless task, but while it was recognized that further investigation was needed, the leader was now faced with the necessity for getting his people ashore. Considerations of health and comfort, combined with Hobart's imperative instructions on the point, demanded this. On the forth day a suitable site for a temporary encampment was found and there followed the difficult business of transporting marines, settlers and convicts, together with their baggage, and the heavy stores of the commissariat department. The scene now presented was one of in-

tensive industry, with the boats plying backwards and forwards between the ships and the shore, soldiers and settlers busily erecting shelters from the weather and looking after their baggage, many hands sinking innumerable wells in the sand to obtain drinking water, and the whole transport of heavy goods burdened by the impossibility of bringing the ships nearer the land than a a mile and a quarter owing to shallow water. This struggle with adverse conditions lasted over a month, but in the meantime a party under the first lieutenant of the *Calcutta*, J. H. Tuckey, was sent off (16th October) with two boats, to examine the harbour. He was accompanied by G. P. Harris, the Deputy-Surveyor of the Lieutenant-Governor's Civil Staff, and Mr. William Collins, a settler, formerly a master in the Navy, who had left England with a view to engaging in a fishing speculation. The reports furnished by Tuckey and Harris gave no indication of any place suitable for a permanent settlement. The river (Yarra) at the head of the bay was not examined, but Tuckey could find little to say in favour of the country generally. As a sailor he looked upon the entrance to the harbour as presenting serious drawbacks to sailing ships, from its bad position and the prevailing winds. In some places, he considered, the soil might be sufficiently strong to produce vegetables and perhaps Indian corn, but it could safely be asserted that, excepting a few acres at the head of the port, no spot within five miles of the water would produce wheat or any other grain requiring with much moisture a good soil. The great scarcity of water was one of the great disadvantages the port laboured under. Fish was so scarce that it could never be depended on as a source of effectual relief in the event of scarcity. Harris's survey of the port, though more favourable than Tuckey's, was still far from encouraging, considering the object in view.

Collins now came to the conclusion that Port Phillip was not a suitable place for a permanent establishment, because the harbour offered none of those advantages that were absolutely necessary for successful colonization : plentiful water, convenient anchorages, extensive areas of land fit for agriculture, and good timber for building purposes. He had expected, as a result of a letter dispatched from Rio to King by a whaling vessel, that the Governor would have sent a colonial vessel from Port Jackson to open up communication. Lacking this, it became his duty to find means to consult with the Governor as to the future. At this juncture the settler Collins offered to proceed to Sydney in an open boat and carry the Lieutenant-Governor's dispatches to King. This proposal was gladly accepted by Colonel Collins, who did not fail to express his commendation of this plucky deed

in the letter addressed to Governor King explaining the situation in which his expedition was now placed. Settler Collins, with a crew of six convicts, left the camp on the 6th November, and had difficulty in getting out of the port. His boat reached a point sixty miles south of Sydney Heads, where it was picked up by the *Ocean* and the party taken on to Sydney, arriving there on the 24th. The *Ocean* had been chartered only for the voyage to Port Phillip, and after having delivered her passengers and cargo there, and been discharged from Government service, she set sail for her declared destination, China, leaving Port Phillip on the 17th November. No doubt her commander, who had a poor opinion of Port Phillip, shrewdly suspected that by calling in at Sydney his ship had a good chance of immediate employment for the transport of the expeditionary force to a really suitable location.

In the full and reasoned statement explaining to King his position as he saw it, Collins included a little inset picture which enables us to behold, as if they were viewed through a field-glass, those motley groups of people, so distinct in character, yet bound together by strongest and strangest ties, hoping for the best, but preparing for the worst, while waiting for something to turn up.

"I cannot but suppose", he wrote, "that all the disadvantages of Port Phillip are as well known to your Excellency as they are to myself at this moment. If they are, you will have anticipated this report ; but it may not have entered into your contemplation that there are at this time between three and four hundred people sitting down cheerfully, with no other or more certain supply of water than what is filtered daily through the perforated sides of six or eight casks which are sunk in the sand. The water certainly is good—at least my sick list does not indicate that it is otherwise. . . . Among them (the convicts) are certainly some who will be exceedingly useful to me ; but I am concerned to state that there are many who will be exceedingly useless. I shall, however, endeavour to get from them all the labour I possibly can, there being much to be done to get my stores and them under a more durable covering than the canvas we are at present under before the winter sets in, if it should appear expedient to your Excellency that I am to remain here until that period. I am well aware that a removal hence must be attended with much difficulty and loss ; but upon every possible view of my situation, I do not see any advantage that could be thereby attained, nor that by staying here I can at all answer the intentions of Government in sending hither a Colonial establishment."

Reviewing the situation as it was now presented to him by Collins' report, which confirmed the accounts of the country already given by Grimes and Robbins, King decided that a removal from Port Phillip was necessary. No doubt the technical views of Captain Mertho concerning the entrance of the port

entered into this final verdict, and he probably had those of Woodriff, who had forwarded him a letter by William Collins. Acting with characteristic promptitude he chartered the *Ocean* as a transport and dispatched the *Lady Nelson*, the *Francis*, and a small colonial vessel, the *Edwin*, 16 tons, specially hired for the purpose, to assist in any investigation that Collins might wish to make of another site, and to maintain communication with Sydney. He also wrote to Captain Woodriff, asking him to allow the *Calcutta* to be used once more as a transport, if his instructions would permit him to continue such a service. In a detailed dispatch to Collins, after giving a careful summary of his information concerning the only two available sites for the new colony, the Derwent and Port Dalrymple, he left the choice of either of these to Collins, while expressing his own decided preference for the northern port :

" Having possessed you of all these circumstances, it remains with you to determine which of the two places you consider most eligible to remove to with your establishment, &c. . . . Should you give up examining Port Dalrymple, I request the *Edwin* may not be detained for any other service. . . . In the event of your fixing on Hobart, I enclose a letter for the Commandant, requiring him to give that command up to you."

This important dispatch, written by King on the 26th November 1803, was brought to Port Phillip by the *Ocean*, arriving there on the 13th December. It was acknowledged by Collins three days later, when he had to report to King the disagreeable news that Captain Woodriff declined to permit the *Calcutta* to take part in the removal of the establishment to another port. Woodriff had previously spent a fortnight on a somewhat laborious harbour voyage. After a channel had been surveyed and buoyed by his boats, he had succeeded in taking the *Calcutta* north to the Yarra River, at the mouth of which he anchored. Here, with considerable difficulty, a supply of fresh water and timber was obtained.

The Garrison and General Orders issued by the Lieutenant-Governor for the maintenance of discipline fill in details of the picture representing the life of the community during this waiting period. Colonel Collins had brought out a printing press from England, and immediately his people were landed these official " Orders " were printed and issued daily. Being a military encampment it was necessarily laid out in regular fashion, with each section of its inhabitants occupying its own quarter. The leader's printed orders of the day afford evidence of his care and consideration for the people placed under his control. The observance of church services, precautions against fire, the

regulation of bathing, insistence on cleanliness on the part of soldiers, strong warnings to convicts on the futility and folly of deserting the camp in the hope of obtaining freedom by travelling overland to Sydney, these were some of the matters in which he had to instruct his people and if possible compel their obedience. Regular employment was a necessity to check the unrest created by uncertainty regarding the future. The watch-bell ringing at certain times during the day, from five o'clock in the morning to seven in the evening, fixed the hours of work for the convicts. The réveillé, bugle calls and tattoos regulated the movements of the marines, whose duty it was to guard the camp and its valuable stores. Ground was cleared by the convicts and vegetable gardens formed, while land was prepared for corn growing. One source of anxiety for the leader was the desertion of convicts. Numbers of these deluded creatures cleared off into the bush, and it was necessary to send out parties to bring them back. Some returned of their own accord, after suffering hardships from hunger and want, prepared to accept the punishment due to them when the only other alternative was a miserable death from starvation.

Moving through the encampment and marching along its "streets" there is the figure of a strange individual, the Rev. Robert Knopwood, formerly a naval chaplain and now chaplain of the community banded together for the formation of a colony. In addition to his clerical duties he has to perform those of a magistrate. This quaint character, fond of shooting and fishing, especially fond of good living and the society of boon companions, is always ready to carry out his varied functions, though in an easy, happy-go-lucky manner peculiarly his own. If he does not gain the admiration of his fellow-colonists at least he succeeds in securing their liking, notwithstanding his frailties, possibly because of them. To him we owe a scrappy journal, written in imitation of naval style, but full of weird abbreviations and misspelt words, describing the voyage to Australia, the transactions covering the halt at Port Phillip, and the earlier days of the settlement at Hobart. Although without any literary merit this diary throws some little light on passing events and is the more valuable because of a singular lack of private records of the kind, if indeed any were written, dealing with and commenting upon the shifting scenes of that first period of development and growth.

Woodriff's reason for deserting the Lieutenant-Governor at a trying crisis, when ample transport was so essential, was hardly a sufficient excuse for his action. Collins was surprised and hurt when informed by the naval captain that he did not think it advisable to risk the King's ship in exploring a new harbour.

With regard to the Derwent Woodriff must have known that his stated reason did not apply and was ridiculous. On the other hand, the entrance to Port Dalrymple did present difficulties of navigation at that time, and King, when asking Woodriff to stand by Collins, was afraid that he might demur on that account, if asked to go to that port; nevertheless, a year later another naval officer, as we shall see, did not hesitate to take some risk and sailed his ship into the Tamar when duty called. An extension of his assistance to Collins lay well within the scope of Woodriff's instructions, and the Lieutenant-Governor had good reason to complain, as he did later, of the expense to Government and the damage done to his young colony at the Derwent by the naval man's conduct, which was certainly an exhibition of excessive caution, if not of pusillanimity.

The *Calcutta* left Port Phillip on the 18th December and arrived at Port Jackson on the 27th, falling in with the *Lady Nelson* on the way. This vessel had had an unfortunate experience. Meeting with rough weather after she left Sydney for Port Phillip she had been compelled to take shelter at Kent's Group. After two unsuccessful attempts had been made to continue the voyage her destination was changed. The *Francis*, dispatched from Sydney by Governor King about the 4th December, had observed smoke arising from Kent's Islands, and this fact was reported to Colonel Collins when she arrived at the encampment on the 14th. At this time Collins had not yet decided whether to go to the Derwent or to Port Dalrymple, as he was desirous of having a report on the latter place before coming to a final decision on such an important point. For this purpose he dispatched the *Francis*, with the settler Collins on board, with instructions to call in at Kent's Group on the way, in case some disaster had befallen the *Lady Nelson*, and her people were stranded on the islands. The *Francis* was in a bad state of repair, and when she arrived at the islands, where she found the *Lady Nelson*, settler Collins was obliged to direct the master of the *Francis* to return direct to Sydney, and he himself then proceeded in the *Lady Nelson* to Port Dalrymple, and made his inspection of the port, spending some sixteen days on this duty. His examination was carefully made and extended to a point on the North Esk River above the present site of Launceston. He was particularly impressed by the South Esk and its cataract. "Upon opening the entrance I observed a large fall of water over Rocks, near a quarter of a Mile up a strait Gully, between perpendicular Rocks, about one hundred and fifty feet high; the beauty of the Scene is probably not surpass'd in the world." William Collins' report on the country was favourable, and he thought that on the

whole the River Dalrymple possessed a number of local advantages requisite for a settlement and merited some attention. A second but less favourable report was made by one of the Lieutenant-Governor's civil staff, Thomas Clark, Agricultural Superintendent, whom he had sent with Collins on the inspection. After the completion of this work the *Lady Nelson* left for Port Phillip, where she arrived on 21st January, relieving the Lieutenant-Governor's mind of the fears he had felt regarding her safety.

This voyage of the *Lady Nelson* had a special importance, for she carried Robert Brown as a passenger. When Flinders' ship, the *Investigator*, was condemned at Sydney for further service, and the navigator set out for England in the *Porpoise*, it was arranged that Brown should remain in New South Wales to carry on his researches. The proposed voyage of the *Lady Nelson* from Sydney to Port Phillip, and from thence either to the Derwent or to Port Dalrymple, offered too good an opportunity for his specialized work to be missed, and the botanist was thus able to carry out field work at Kent's Group and the River Tamar, and to renew his acquaintance with Port Phillip, previously visited when he was in the *Investigator*. The delay of the vessel at Kent's Group enabled him to examine the flora of the islands thoroughly, though they afforded little enough to the eager scientist. Of Port Dalrymple he formed a poor opinion. Writing to Banks later he said: " I wish I could speak favourably of that place, but as far as I can judge from an examination of the vicinity of its shores, very little is to be expected from it." It is not unreasonable to surmise, however, that for such an enthusiast, always engaged in the search for and study of unknown species, it was the botanical rather than the economic and productive aspect of a new country that took first place in his mind. This exclusiveness of outlook is a marked feature of his correspondence. Nor do we hear anything of the personal discomfort that must often have been an accompaniment of his purposeful wanderings in the bush.

The day before the *Lady Nelson* arrived at Port Phillip from Port Dalrymple, the Lieutenant-Governor received a letter from Governor King which set his mind at ease, confirming as it did, in anticipation, the decision in favour of the Derwent he had recently arrived at after mature consideration. King wrote to the effect that a schooner had just returned from Port Dalrymple and given a very unfavourable report on its entrance and other inconveniences. " As these are such objections ", wrote King, " which, if true, (and I have no reason to doubt it), I have no idea but that you have or will totally abandon that place as a settlement and confine your views to the Derwent." The Governor then went on to say that the suggestion as to a small out-station

being formed on King Island, which Collins had been instructed by Hobart to arrange, was out of the question. However, he did think that a small force, under a trusty sergeant and a civilian superintendent, might well be left at Port Phillip until further instructions were received from the Colonial Office.

Collins' resolution to make the Derwent his final destination resulted from a combination of circumstances. The departure of the *Calcutta*, with the contingent of marines belonging to that ship, had left him with a weak military force, not strong enough to maintain proper discipline and control over the convicts. Without a stout stockade and suitable buildings prisoners could not be kept well in hand, and the desertions that took place caused the Lieutenant-Governor a great deal of anxiety. The health of the community, which had been quite satisfactory after the landing, had begun to deteriorate. The settlers were restless, having tired of marking time, some of them were incompetent and most of them were as yet ill-trained for the hardships of colonization. This spirit of restlessness even extended itself to the marines, and there was some fear of an insurrection. As a warning two of the worst mischief-makers were charged with mutiny, and after a court martial severely punished. Towards the end of December it was thought advisable to form a Civil Guard to assist in the maintenance of order; this was composed of eight of the civil staff, including the chaplain, who acted as officers, with twelve of the best convicts as subordinates. It became evident to Collins that the weakness of his controlling force called for an addition to its numbers. He believed that by moving to the Derwent, where Bowen had a small company of the N.S.W. Corps, a spirit of emulation between the two military bodies might be created, and their usefulness as guardians of the colony greatly increased. Having arrived at this conclusion he hurried on the work of loading up the *Ocean* in preparation for the voyage to Risdon Cove. A temporary jetty, 380 feet long, was run out from the shore to enable the boats to be loaded. When the stores were first landed it had been necessary for the convicts to carry them ashore from the boats, wading up to the middle in shallow water. Thus it was that immediately the *Lady Nelson* arrived from Port Dalrymple the transport of the settlers, their families and their goods was allotted to her. The *Ocean* was not large enough to carry the whole of the civil staff, the marines and the convicts, and a large part had therefore to be left behind under the charge of Lieutenant Sladden, of the Royal Marines. The ship was ill-suited for transport purposes, but Colonel Collins, his civil staff, 25 marines, 178 prisoners, with some women and children, occupied crowded and uncomfortable quarters on board. On the

27th January 1804, the two vessels got under weigh and sailed as far as the Heads, but it was not till the 30th that a favouring breeze enabled them to pass through the Rip and sail southward.

Collins has been greatly blamed by some writers for what they have chosen to term his "abandonment" of Port Phillip. There is no need to take such unreasonable accusations very seriously; nevertheless, because they have been made, it is better to show, even at some risk of repeating recorded facts, the slight foundations upon which they are based. Collins cannot be said to have abandoned the port, because he made no fixed or permanent settlement there. He received definite instructions to land his people there without delay, if he found it necessary to search for a more eligible place than Port Phillip. These he scrupulously obeyed. He was told that although not positively restricted from giving the preference to another site more advantageously situated he must communicate with the Governor and receive his concurrence and approbation before taking action. In this matter also he followed his orders, for Governor King, with full knowledge of the facts, decided, not that Collins should remain at Port Phillip, but that he was at liberty to choose between Port Dalrymple and the Derwent River. King's decision was founded not only on Collins' report of Port Phillip and that of Harris, the surveyor, but on the information received from earlier visitors: Grimes, Robbins, and Flemming. He also had the opinion of Captain Mertho, of the *Ocean*, on the disadvantages of the port from a seaman's point of view, and he received the adverse views of Captain Woodriff, based on his own and Lieutenant Tuckey's observations. It should also be remembered that an essential feature of a site for a new colony in those days was an abundance of good agricultural land for the cultivation of wheat and other grain for the support of the colonists. This point, as the records prove, was always insisted upon. Péron noticed it and informed De Caen that the English Government was at that time directing men's minds towards agriculture. The criticism of Collins (and it is on him that all blame is centred) seems to have arisen from after events, the development of rich outlying districts and the wonderful growth of Melbourne. History is not to be read backwards in that way, with "retrospective intelligence", and without regard to those facts alone, and that knowledge alone, which the people who made the history had at their command and upon which they had to act. It is as unreasonable to censure Collins because he did not foresee the possibilities of such things as, let us say, the gold mines of Ballarat and Bendigo, which contributed so largely to make Melbourne a great city, as it would be foolish

to praise him for transferring his people to a country where the waters of an elevated lake in its centre by their motive power are now spinning the wheels of industry not only in the North-West Bay of D'Entrecasteaux Channel, but in the Port Dalrymple discovered by Flinders, and in other parts of the island. It is a significant comment on the case that the actual development of Port Phillip was initiated thirty-one years after Collins found the place unsuited for his requirements, and then, not by the home authorities or by those of the parent colony, but by men who had lived and gained pioneering experience in the island where Collins founded his settlement. A correct summary of the whole movement which had as its final result the settlement of the southern part of Tasmania is given by the historian James Backhouse Walker :

" The sandhills of Port Phillip merely served for a month or two as a resting-place for the colonists on their way to the Derwent. The short stay of Collins' people on Victorian soil was only an incident in their passage from England to Van Diemen's Land, like their touching at Rio or the Cape ; and the story of those months is an essential part of the history of the first settlers of Hobart." (33)

The *Ocean* and *Lady Nelson* soon parted company after they left Port Phillip Heads. The former vessel was a poor sailer, she was greatly overcrowded, and the bad weather met with made her voyage a lengthy one. Storm Bay, when it was reached, proved true to its name, and the ship, on the thirteenth day out, could not make the entrance of the Derwent River and was forced to put into Frederick Henry Bay, anchoring off Pipe Clay Lagoon on the 11th February 1804. Lieutenant Edward Lord, of the Royal Marines, with Mr. A. W. H. Humphrey, the mineralogist attached to Collins' civil staff, and four convicts, were at once landed to walk overland to Risdon Cove to report the arrival of the *Ocean* to Lieutenant Bowen. For three days the ship remained windbound at her anchorage. The interval was spent by some of the passengers on excursions ashore, where, in the shallow waters of the lagoon, a good supply of oysters was found. Chaplain Knopwood was much struck with the quantity of food supplies that the country seemed to promise, and considered that the natives must be much better supplied with fish and birds than those at Port Phillip. In his journal this lover of good living noted with evident satisfaction the results of his observations : wild fowl, one emu, quails, bronswin pigeons, parrots, a great quantity of oysters, duck, teal, and a bird he took to be a woodcock. A party sent ashore to gather

(33) Note.

oysters fell in with seventeen armed natives, who showed themselves to be quite friendly with their visitors. (As the chaplain's weak spelling has already been referred to, the source of any such instances that may occur will be understood.) On February 15th Captain Mertho was able to weigh anchor and sail round to the Derwent River. At the "enterance" he was met by a boat with Lieutenant Symons, commander of the *Lady Nelson*, on board. The brig had arrived at Risdon Cove on the 9th, and Symons, having received Lieutenant Lord's report, had come down to greet the Lieutenant-Governor. Favoured now with good weather and a sea breeze the *Ocean* sailed up the estuary of the river. It is easy to imagine with what interest and close attention Collins must have examined its shores and beaches and the well-wooded hills and grassy slopes looking down upon them, everything so different in appearance from Port Phillip. To build, to create something for the betterment of his kind, is one of the great moving forces of man's ambition, and as he passed on Collins, we may be certain, noted and weighed with calm judgment and appreciation the promise which every feature of the land offered for his purpose. One spot in particular must assuredly have attracted his attention that summer afternoon, and been marked for closer attention. Two days later this, the one place on the banks of the River Derwent adapted in every way to be the site of a city and the capital of a colony, received without hesitation the recognition that was its due.

The *Ocean* anchored in Risdon Cove that evening at half-past six. On the following morning, the 16th, the Lieutenant-Governor made his official landing on Tasmanian soil. As he left the ship a salute of eleven guns was fired by Captain Mertho in his honour, and on landing he was received by Lieutenant Moore, of the N.S.W. Corps, and his small staff. Bowen was absent from the settlement, having left his post, without leave, the previous month, on board a whaler, in order to hand over for trial at Sydney a soldier who, with others, had been detected in the serious offence of stealing Government stores. His chief reason, however, for thus quitting the settlement, a most unwise act in the circumstances, was to communicate to King in person his resignation of the office he held at Risdon Cove. The Governor-General resented Bowen's action in thus absenting himself from his post, because he wished the Commandant's knowledge of the country to be at Collins' disposal on his arrival at the Derwent. Any aid, however, that might have been afforded by Bowen at this juncture could well be dispensed with, as he did not possess any extended knowledge of the country.

The Lieutenant-Governor's first duty after landing was to

inspect the young settlement to see if the site was one that he should take over for his own larger scheme of colonization. He very soon saw that the cove, with its restricted area of good land and small stream of water, possessed none of those fine characteristics that it was supposed to have. On the following day he set out in a boat to make an examination of the right bank of the river some miles below Risdon. Knopwood's journal indicates that his chief already knew where to find the object of his quest:

"At 10 the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Collins and self went to examine a plain on the SW side of the river, the plain extensive and a continuel run of water, which is very excellent, it comes from the lofty mountain much resembling the Table Mountain at the Cape of Good Hope. The land is good and the trees very excellent. The plain is well calculated in every degree for a settlement. At 5 we returned and dined with the Governor much delighted with the excursion. The new settlement is 6 miles lower down the river than the present one, which is a great advantage, besides the landing of the stores so much better."

The central area of the present city of Hobart (which, like Rome, is said to be built on seven hills) can hardly be described as a "plain", but in justice to the chaplain it must be remembered that when it was covered with virgin bush the foreground did present a fairly level appearance, in contrast with the high hills and the impressive mountain mass, the source of the water supply, lying in the background.

On 18th February Collins made an examination of the open country lying between New Town Bay, the Stainforth Bay of Lieut. John Hayes (Plate 8), and Prince of Wales Bay. This area was called by Hayes "King George Plains", one of his grand sounding names that drew forth Flinders' ridicule. It was thought that this piece of clear land would be a very suitable locality for the settlers. Collins was not impressed with it, finding the ground rather broken by watercourses. That evening he ordered the tents that had been erected temporarily at Risdon Cove to be struck, and on the following day the *Ocean* sailed down the river and anchored in Sullivan Cove, so named after the Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office. Preparations were at once made for landing the people. This was an easy process, for vessels could moor close to the shore and boats find good landing-places. On 21st February the Lieutenant-Governor was able to go ashore and occupy the quarters prepared for him. Knopwood records the events of the day in his own refreshing manner:

"At 10 I went on shore to see my marque pitched; returned to dinner on board the *Ocean*. At 6 p.m. the Lt.G. went on shore, having landed all his baggage &c. At 7 I went and slept at my marque for

the first time and the L.G. honoured my name for parol, the first given on the new sett^{t}. and Lt.Lord's name for the C.Sign. I slept at the camp for the first time and so did the Lt.G."

Collins had at last found his ideal spot for the foundation of a colony. When making his selection he had taken the opinion of the military and civil officers with him, and they had agreed with him as to its eligibility. The soil appeared to be good, while timber and stone were sufficient in quantity and quality for all purposes.

"In respect to Situation", he wrote to Lord Hobart, "I am as well Placed as I could wish. I have Land immediately about me, and in my Neighbourhood, sufficient for extensive agricultural Purposes. The Run which supplies us with clear wholesome Water, having its source in an adjoining Mountain, leaves me no reason to doubt of its proving a constant supply; and the Climate appears to me, as far as I can judge of it, not to be liable to the sudden changes of either Port Phillip or Port Jackson. . . . I need not add anything further on this Subject, than an assurance that nothing shall be left untried by me, as far as I have Ability, to evince the Propriety of the choice which I have made of a Place to establish the Settlement."

Here we must leave the Lieutenant-Governor. The tale of his long struggle with difficulties, dangers, neglect by higher authorities, and injustice—and of the determined, courageous manner in which he pursued his course, fighting always on behalf of the community, until in the end he was acknowledged as "The Father and Friend of All"—belongs to the second or Penal Stage in the history of the island that was now beginning.

(3) Port Dalrymple

It is evident that the representations made by Governor King regarding the importance of Bass Strait, backed up by his reports concerning the French expedition, had made a deep impression on the Colonial Office. Not content with the dispatch of Collins to Port Phillip or some other more suitable place, Lord Hobart cast about for a scheme which should include the formation of a new settlement on Bass Strait and enable him to combine with it several changes of another kind that he considered desirable. In a letter to King dated the 24th June 1803, exactly two months after Collins had sailed from England, he sketched out the plan he wished to be followed. It is of interest to note the reasons he gave for this project, which eventually had as its final result the birth of what is now the city of Launceston:

"Upon a mature consideration of all circumstances relating to the establishment upon Norfolk Island, its great expence and the disadvantages attending a communication between that island and Port

Jackson, not merely from the intermediate distance, but from the danger of approaching the island, except in the summer season, from the want of a port or even safe anchorage, it appears advisable that a part of the establishment now at Norfolk Island should be removed, together with a proportion of the settlers and convicts, to Port Dalrymple, the advantageous position of which upon the southern (*sic*) coast of Van Diemen's Land, and near the eastern entrance of Bass's Streights, renders it in a political view peculiarly necessary that a settlement should be formed there ; and as far as the reports of those who have visited that coast can be depended upon, it is strongly recommended by the nature of the soil and the goodness of the climate."

After giving some details about the transport of the Norfolk Island settlers to the new settlement, where they were to receive four acres for each acre they had previously cultivated, the Minister went on to suggest that it might be advisable to form two townships at Port Dalrymple, with a view to distributing the settlers and the convicts who would provide the labour force needed to promote agricultural development. This system of avoiding concentration of prisoners at a few principal stations was one which Hobart held to be important. He then directed that the Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, Colonel Paterson, should be the administrator of the new colony. This appointment was a somewhat peculiar one, and was not without its influence in the subsequent history of the parent colony. Hobart doubtless considered it advisable, in view of the strained relations between King and Paterson, that the latter should be removed to another field of service, while still retaining his rank as King's second in command. The arrangement proved to be an awkward one, for it came about that Colonel Collins was Lieutenant-Governor at the southern end of Tasmania, while Paterson, the Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, was the Administrator or Commandant at the northern end. At the time he nominated Paterson for this post Hobart did not foresee that Collins might have to make his settlement at the Derwent River. As the removal of a section of the establishment at Norfolk Island would lessen the importance of that outpost, he directed King to remove Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux, then acting as Lieutenant-Governor of the island, to Sydney, where he would take Paterson's place, while still retaining his rank as an acting Lieutenant-Governor. The command at Norfolk Island was to be given to an officer of lower rank, who was to receive a special allowance for the post.

Hobart's dispatch did not come into King's hands till May 1804. Its wording gave the Governor some trouble, and he called in Colonel Paterson and Major Johnston, of the N.S.W.

Corps, to help him to interpret its meaning. The quotation from Hobart's letter given above shows that Port Dalrymple was referred to as on the *southern* coast of Van Diemen's Land. This puzzled King, who was anxious to carry out the Minister's wishes. Eventually he decided that Paterson should first examine Port Dalrymple, Port Phillip and Western Port, report to the Governor, and then take a small party to open up Port Dalrymple. He also decided that an outpost of some description should be made at Port Phillip or Western Port. As it happened, the second part of this programme was never carried out. When the *Ocean*, after having conveyed Collins' first party to the Derwent, returned to Port Phillip, she took away the whole of the contingent that had been left behind there, with the exception of a few convicts who had run away into the bush. It is easy now to see that the use of the word "southern" in Hobart's letter was merely a clerical error, and that he had forgotten the discretionary power he had given to Collins to occupy the best place for a settlement, subject to King's consent, and that Port Dalrymple might be the district selected. It is probable, however, that had Hobart, as he might well have done, given the Governor-General authority to use his own discretion in the choice of a *second* settlement, Port Dalrymple would still have been singled out as the proper site for it under the circumstances.

For the transport of Paterson and his advance party to Port Dalrymple King provided two small vessels, the Colonial cutter *Integrity*, 56 tons, and the *Contest*, 25 tons, chartered for the trip. The military contingent numbered 24, under Captain Anthony Fenn Kemp; these and 21 convicts were divided between the two vessels. The departure of the *Integrity* on 8th June 1804 was made the occasion for a demonstration of affection on the part of the N.S.W. Corps, which was thus losing its commanding officer. The start, however, was a false one. Eleven days later the *Integrity* was back in Sydney, having been denied progress by the winter gales met with in Bass Strait. On the 3rd July she set forth once more, and south of Cape Howe, in a heavy gale, fell in with the *Contest*, which in the interval had twice been compelled to put into Twofold Bay. Both vessels then returned to Port Jackson. This set-back disappointed King, who was eager, now that the enterprise was organized, to see it properly employed upon its business. He tried to induce the captains of two ships lying in Port Jackson to undertake the transport service required, but their engagements with the East India Company prevented them from doing so. Thus the attempt to reach Port Dalrymple had to be postponed to a more favourable season, when local vessels would be available.

An important matter troubling the Governor's mind at this time was the intrusion of foreign sealing and whaling vessels in Australian waters, especially in the vicinity of the islands of Bass Strait. American craft were now becoming more and more obnoxious in their methods, and King was anxious to learn how far he was empowered to deal with them as poachers and interlopers. As far back as November 1802, he had appealed to Hobart for instructions to guide him in the future, and he had particularly referred to French and American raiding of the territories under his command. Now, in August 1804, he had to repeat his request for information how far he, as Governor of the dominion, was justified in proceeding in an attempt to prevent this intrusion. When he wrote he was not aware that Earl Camden had succeeded Hobart as Secretary of State for the War and Colonial Department. Not content to await instructions he issued a Proclamation on the 11th August, setting forth the various kinds of injury done to British interests and decreeing that

"His Excellency also strictly forbids any person not a natural-born subject of His Majesty being engaged to reside or settle in this territory or its dependencies without a previous permission obtained from the Governor, Lieut. Governor, or officer in command for the time being."

There was good reason for such energetic action. The master of an American ship had gone so far as to start building a vessel in Kent's Bay, "the third American vessel that has within the last twelve months been in the straits and among the islands procuring seal-skins and oil for the China market." The whole position affords a good illustration of the manner in which "the man on the spot", the official representing national interests and anxious to safeguard them, may be handicapped by lack of clear definition of his power to frustrate aggressive acts. Undoubtedly in this case great damage was being done to a growing home and colonial industry. It is a coincidence that at this very time Assistant-Surgeon Thomson, who had travelled to Europe in the French ship *Naturaliste*, was pointing out to the authorities the enormous importance of sea fisheries on the Australian and Tasmanian coasts. It was from the southern whale-fishery that Collins was already expecting that his settlement on the Derwent would derive advantage, on account of its favourable position and the quality of its harbour.

A weighty matter, connected with the future administration of Tasmania, cropped up in the interval between Paterson's first attempt to reach Port Dalrymple and the final and successful effort. Arising out of a question of the military authority

to be exercised over an out-station in New South Wales, it appeared to him that when he established himself at Port Dalrymple Colonel Collins might consider that settlement as falling under his jurisdiction. This would have been a natural assumption on Collins' part, but it was one that Paterson had no intention of agreeing to. He informed King that any orders received from him as Governor-in-chief would be punctually attended to, but that in the event of Collins interfering with himself in his military capacity he most certainly would not comply, except in the most urgent necessity, where the good of His Majesty's service required it. King's solution of the problem could only be a temporary one, though it lasted during Collins' lifetime. To cut the Gordian knot the Governor drew a line across the map of Tasmania, making the parallel of 42° south latitude a boundary line between the command of Collins and that of Paterson, calling the southern area Buckinghamshire and the northern division Cornwall. Collins has always been regarded as the first Lieutenant-Governor of Tasmania, whereas Paterson, although Lieutenant-Governor of New South Wales, was only Administrator or Commandant at Port Dalrymple. The arrangement was one that suited Governor King, as it ensured direct communication on all questions between Paterson and himself.

One result of his delayed departure from Sydney was that Paterson's expedition grew in numbers, and he was also able to make the journey in greater comfort. King arranged that the *Buffalo*, commanded by Captain Kent, with the *Lady Nelson*, *Francis* and *Integrity* as consorts, should transport the party. It consisted of Captain A. F. Kemp, Ensigns Robert Anderson and Hugh Piper, 64 non-commissioned officers and privates of the N.S.W. Corps, 20 women and 14 children, Surgeon Jacob Mountgarrett, who had accompanied Bowen to Risdon and had returned to Sydney when the settlement there was merged in that of Collins, Alexander Riley, storekeeper, James Hill, a settler, 74 convicts and 2 wives of convicts, a total of 181 persons. The expedition was supplied with stores sufficient for six months, and with a certain number of live stock, to build up flocks and herds, so that the community might become independent of supplies from overseas.

The ships sailed from Sydney on the 15th October 1804. Paterson's official departure, when he embarked on the *Buffalo* the previous day, had been marked with a salute of eleven guns. Governor King, who was accompanied by a party of ladies and officers, went on board to take final leave of his lieutenant, and was saluted with eleven guns from the ship. With the playing of the band and the acclamations of the sightseers these occasions

were a welcome break in the monotonous and rather joyless though busy life of the colonial metropolis. The relations between the Governor and Paterson had changed for the better before this separation, though King, with his knowledge of the other man's character, must have had some misgivings concerning the new undertaking. On the other hand, Paterson, always "a weak vessel", had the satisfaction of knowing that he could rely on the strength of a chief whose support would never fail him. Bass Strait proved as unkind to Paterson as on his previous ventures, for three days later the ships met with a heavy opposing gale, which later on became a tempest. The *Buffalo* and *Francis* found shelter in Kent's Group, and when able to leave (3rd November), made for Port Dalrymple, but the *Francis* was unable to keep company with the larger vessel. On the 4th Captain Kent arrived off Low Head. His seamanship was now put to the test and although without the small vessel to show the way into the harbour he boldly faced a hazard that Captain Woodriff had fought shy of the previous year.

"Having ascertained the port", he wrote to King, "we stood off from the land, in hopes of meeting the *Francis*, but after spending a considerable part of the day without success, and fearing she might have fallen to leward, I saw little probability of the settlement ever being formed unless some risk was run. I therefore bore up in dark cloudy weather, blowing strong at north west, right on the shore, for a harbour little—very little—known, hoping, should any accident happen the ship, I might meet with every consideration for my zeal."

The *Buffalo* came to anchor that evening a mile and a half below Green Island, now called Garden Island (Sec. 2, Plate 10). During the night it blew extremely hard, and after an unsuccessful attempt made next morning to move the ship into Outer Cove she was driven aground in a heavy squall on the eastern shoals. Fortunately the weather improved, so that she was not injured, and the arrival of the *Integrity* enabled Kent to lighten his ship. This misfortune compelled Paterson to make a temporary camp at Outer Cove till he should find a suitable spot for his permanent settlement. The *Buffalo* remained fast for four days before she was able, on the 9th, to shift round to Outer Cove. Here, "on the morning of the 11th November 1804, the ceremony of taking possession was performed, by hoisting His Majesty's colours, by the troops firing three volleys, and by the *Buffalo* firing a royal salute." After this formality was out of the way Paterson proceeded, with great deliberation, to get his people established under some sort of temporary cover. The cultivation of a few acres of land was begun, stores were placed for safety on Green Island, and the remains of the stock that had

survived the rough passage were pastured on the restricted area that the district afforded. Paterson owed a great deal at this juncture to the energy of Captain Kent, who erected beacons and a flagstaff at Low Head for the use of ships entering the port, drew up sailing directions, and then made excursions in the neighbourhood searching for some location fit for the permanent establishment of a settlement. One place, the head of Western Arm, appeared to hold out some promise. This was visited by Paterson and met with his approval, though he reserved his decision until an extended examination of the country higher up the port had been made. Amongst his other discoveries Kent found limestone and freestone suitable for building. His activities during these the earlier days of the Port Dalrymple enterprise present a vivid contrast to the easy-going lethargic conduct of the one man from whom unbounded vigour should have been forthcoming. Fortunately for the band of colonists it contained some individuals who could throw themselves with willing spirit into the business of organizing the life of the community in its new surroundings.

On 21st November, the *Lady Nelson* and the *Francis* arrived at Outer Cove. Both had been driven by bad weather to take shelter in Kent's Bay. Besides serious damage done to the former in the great storm on the 22nd October, live stock and other deck cargo had been swept away, and her commander, Lieutenant James Symons, before his arrival at Kent's Bay, had been forced to put into Twofold Bay on three occasions. Captain Kent took the *Buffalo* and the *Integrity* to sea on the 28th November, and outside the heads, before sailing for Port Jackson, sent his first lieutenant, Robbins, on board the *Integrity*, with instructions to proceed in the direction of Hunter's Islands and carry out some nautical survey work. Governor King wished that the north-west coast of Van Diemen's Land, between Circular Head and Hunter's Islands should be examined, to see if any harbour existed there. Robbins on this voyage wrote his name on the map of Tasmania by discovering the channel between the mainland and the island called after him, which Louis Freycinet, two years before, had mistakenly assumed to be a peninsula. Robbins then proceeded to Cape Otway to fix its exact position, and after making an examination of Western Port, on which he reported unfavourably, returned to Sydney, where he arrived on the 15th January 1805. He was accompanied on this trip by another officer of the *Buffalo*, John Oxley, who was afterwards Surveyor-General of New South Wales.

In his official report of the transport of Paterson's party from Sydney to Port Dalrymple Captain Kent directed Governor

King's special attention to the fine work of the commanders of the small vessels during the voyage. And indeed their exertions and the sufferings of the passengers, some of whom were heavy losers of stock by the tempestuous weather met with, deserved consideration. Such buffetings of fortune, however, had to be accepted as a distressing but almost certain accompaniment of pioneering work. The trials of Paterson's people did not cease on their arrival at Port Dalrymple. Landed at Outer Cove they had still to wait while their chief came to some decision with regard to his head-quarters. The *Lady Nelson* being at his disposal after she had been unloaded, he set out on an extended excursion. Leaving Outer Cove on the 28th November, and making examination of the country on the way, by using the flood tides the brig arrived on the fourth day at a point a little below Cataract Gorge. Here the vessel was left at anchor, while Paterson made a boat journey up the North Esk. He had with him Ensign Piper, Surgeon Mountgarrett, Lieutenant Symons, and a guard of soldiers. Two boats conveyed the party, and Paterson began his observations of the country at One Tree Reach, the point where William Collins' survey had ended, when he discovered the river. The boats having been taken as high up the river as they could be worked, the party camped out and spent three days on the exploration of the fine open country met with. Thousands of acres of land which seemed to be ready for the plough were seen along the river banks. It was Paterson's opinion that the country would turn out to be superior to any yet discovered and that in general it could hardly be equalled for agricultural or pastoral purposes. Returning to the *Lady Nelson* an examination of Cataract Gorge was then made. The grandeur of this struck the party as it had William Collins on his visit. On the way back to Outer Cove along the main waterway, which Paterson named the Tamar, in honour of Governor King, who was born at Launceston, in the home country, inland excursions were made on either bank. Finally, on the 10th December, the leader investigated Western Arm for the second time.

"After much Labour and attention I have paid in examining every part of the river, I have seen none so advantageously situated for a Permanent Settlement as this, where there is an easy and safe communication with Vessels arriving in this Port, as well as with Settlements which may hereafter be formed higher up the river. These favourable circumstances have induced me to determine upon removing the principal part of my small Military Force, with most of the Prisoners, and to commence clearing Ground and erecting the necessary Buildings before the winter sets in."

So wrote Paterson, and a third visit, made a few days later in

company with the surgeon, confirmed his opinion. Having thus made his choice, a month after arriving at Port Dalrymple, Paterson proceeded to lay out the township, giving it the name of York Town. It is impossible to understand the process of reasoning by which he arrived at this conclusion. The locality possessed no special advantages except a good supply of water and some fine timber. The soil on the frontage was of a poor description, there were a few patches of good ground near the outlying hills, there was no back-country for the support of a town, and it was only at high tide that the site, at the head of a shallow bay, could be approached by boats. There was no question here of lack of vision on the part of a leader. Paterson had recently visited a spot, the present site of Launceston, which offered an eminently suitable situation for the centre of the territory under his command. He had seen in its vicinity large areas of open well-watered land immediately available for culture and profitable occupation, yet he chose to fix upon a shallow back-water of the lower reaches of the Tamar, and to formulate a plan of settlement involving a dangerous dispersal of the meagre forces at his disposal. York Town was to be his head-quarters, Outer Cove would form his port, Low Head would be occupied as an out-station, and presently settlers would be placed on the North Esk, if additional troops could be obtained for their protection. Time, which heals many things, eventually rectified these initial blunders of William Paterson, but in the interval an immense amount of energy had been dissipated, and the progress of the settlement founded by him in a country offering splendid opportunities and generous response to judicious and brisk treatment had been unnecessarily retarded.

It should be noted that in all these movements, especially in the two larger measures, those instituted by the Home Government, the policy laid down included the idea of free settlers as part of the small communities intended to establish the new colonial outposts. It is true that these sections formed at first only a small proportion of the main bodies, but the official sanctions granted and the references to them made in despatches and instructions show that the authorities in England did not regard the projects as exclusively penal in character.

(4) Flinders and Bass

In the two preceding chapters we followed the events which took place in the opening up of Tasmania to human knowledge after the arrival of Matthew Flinders and George Bass in Australia, and we have just seen how the settlement of the island which those

events brought about was made. The intimate association of the two daring investigators with the first or geographical phase of the island's history demands a brief account concerning the fate which befell each of them at the time when that settlement was being made in the land they were the first to circumnavigate. Especially is the tragedy that broke Flinders' career as a navigator and a discoverer, and undoubtedly shortened his life, linked up, and in a fashion he was destined never to know, with the French voyage that hastened the occupation of the island.

When the *Porpoise* and the *Cato* met with disaster at Wreck Reef on the 17th August 1803, Flinders at once assumed command of the ninety-four men who had succeeded in landing on one of the low-lying banks of the reef. At the earliest possible moment he set out for Port Jackson in an open boat, accompanied by the master of the *Cato* and twelve sailors, to obtain means for rescuing the castaways and the valuable records of the voyage of the *Investigator*. This risky journey of over 700 miles was safely accomplished in fourteen days. Governor King, deeply sympathetic with the distressed mariners, did everything in his power to meet the occasion. The master of the *Rolla*, a merchantman about to sail for Canton, consented to call at Wreck Reef and take all hands, if necessary, to China. The colonial schooners, *Cumberland* and *Francis*, were to accompany her to the reef and bring back those who might wish to return to Sydney, as well as any stores saved from the *Porpoise*. Anxious to return to England with his precious charts and papers with the least possible delay, Flinders now offered to take the *Cumberland* through Torres Strait and made for Europe. King consented to this hazardous scheme. Would that Flinders had been content to take the longer journey, and to travel to England by way of China, but the annals of "the silent service" are too full of such examples of eager self-sacrifice to cause any surprise at his decision! The rescuing vessels arrived off Wreck Reef on 7th October, exactly six weeks after Flinders had sailed south on his mission of relief. He described the pleasure of rejoining his companions as affording him one of the happiest moments of his life. The castaways were equally gratified by the safe return of their deliverer, and greeted him with a salute of eleven guns, fired with the carronades salved from the *Porpoise*.

Four days later the *Cumberland* left the reef. Notwithstanding her bad sailing qualities Flinders was determined to proceed with her, even if she had to be abandoned or sold in some port, and a passage secured in a better vessel. The *Rolla* departed for China on the same day. Among her passengers were Lieutenant Fowler, the commander of the *Porpoise* when she was

wrecked, Samuel Flinders and John Franklin. The *Francis* returned to Sydney, and with her went the *Resource*, a decked boat about the size of the *Cumberland*, built on the reef from wreckage during Flinders' absence. Passing safely through Torres Strait the *Cumberland* headed for Coupang, where a short stay was made. No passenger ship being available there Flinders set out on the long voyage across the Indian Ocean to the Cape. It soon became evident that the schooner was in no condition to withstand heavy weather. She leaked badly, only one pump was efficient and that had to be kept going almost constantly, so that in case of a breakdown there was great risk of the vessel foundering. Under the circumstances the navigator felt it his duty to make for the Isle of France. He did not know if his country was still at peace with France, but he had his passport, although it was made out for the *Investigator*. Even if war had been resumed he might, as a discoverer, expect to receive hospitality at Port Louis, considering the way in which Baudin's expedition had been treated at Port Jackson when in distress. It was with some hesitation that he came to this decision, for Governor King, when discussing the voyage to England, had been opposed to his calling in at the Isle of France on account of hurricanes in its neighbourhood, and because he did not wish to encourage communication between a French colony and New South Wales. On the other hand, if the *Cumberland* went on to the Cape the Dutch might not pay much consideration to a passport granted by Bonaparte, and the party might even be detained there as prisoners, and plans and papers seized.

Flinders was handicapped, when land was sighted on December 15th, by the lack of a chart of the island, though he knew that Port Louis was on its north-west coast. This was a misfortune, for had he possessed sailing directions for entering that port, or even a plan of it, he would have proceeded there direct, and it is well within the bounds of probability that his entry into the domain of Captain-General De Caen would then have taken on an entirely different character from that which grew out of his first landing on the island. The *Cumberland* arrived off the Isle of France not far from Grand Port, then called Port Bourbon, the inconvenient harbour on the south-east coast that Tasman had been so glad to quit. On that day, as Flinders sailed along the southern coast, hoping to fall in with a pilot, the *Géographe* was lying in Port Louis preparing for the voyage to Europe, and she sailed on the following day under the command of Captain Millius. This officer had been left behind as an invalid by Baudin, when the *Géographe* sailed from Sydney. He had subsequently found his way to the Isle of France, and on the death of Baudin in

September was placed in charge of the ship by Admiral Linois. Flinders put into Baie du Cap, an opening about four miles east of the South-West Cape, and as a result the *Cumberland*, with her officers and crew practically under arrest, did not reach Port Louis till the 17th. It is safe to say that had the two ships met there on the 15th Flinders would have been introduced to De Caen by Millius under favourable conditions, and that the most unhappy clash that actually occurred between these two strong characters, each great in his own way, each a proud-hearted patriot, would never have taken place. Moreover, the pernicious effects produced on the Captain-General's mind by his recent association with Péron, and by the naturalist's false report concerning Baudin's expedition, would have been greatly ameliorated, and perhaps even overcome, had Flinders been first presented to him by fellow-workers in the field of discovery. Even the fact that Flinders arrived at the Isle of France without a copy of the open letter which Baudin had handed to Governor King for use in just such a case as this might have been overlooked, for De Caen had a copy of that letter in his possession (34). For some unaccountable reason, whether from negligence or with intent it is impossible to tell, King, who with rare foresight usually provided for every contingency, had omitted to fill in and give Flinders one of those letters. Certainly Fate was horribly unkind to the navigator in the manner of his coming to the Isle of France.

Details of Flinders' landing at Baie du Cap, of his first meeting with De Caen at Port Louis, of his peevishness, not unmixed with some lack of tact and courtesy, strangely out of keeping with his natural character and temperament, yet intelligible because of the French Governor's initial irritation, which later grew into deep resentment and urged him to the committal of an act of cruel injustice, of an invitation to dinner roughly refused by Flinders, which might perhaps have turned the scales in his favour had it been accepted in conciliatory manner, these things and his subsequent hardships and years of detention belong to his life history and well merit our close attention (35). Flinders' imprisonment lasted for six and a half years, from that first unhappy December in 1803 to June in 1810, about six months before the Isle of France was captured by British forces. That this period was not without some compensation for the restless, chafing victim of De Caen's oppression appears from the warm tribute he afterwards paid to the French colonists :

"It is but justice to declare that during my long residence in the

(34) Note. (35) Note.

island, as a marked object of suspicion to the government, the kind attention of the inhabitants who could have access to me was invariable; never, in any place, or amongst any people, have I seen more hospitality and attention to strangers, more sensibility to the misfortune of others, of whatever nation, than here, than I have myself experienced in Mauritius. . . . Arbitrary power, animated by strong national prejudice, though it may turn aside or depress for a time, cannot yet extinguish in a people the broad principles of justice and humanity generally prevalent in the human heart" (36).

Flinders' captivity was not allowed to pass without numerous efforts being made by men in authority, British and French, to secure his release. In 1805 Marquis Wellesley, Governor-General of India, wrote to De Caen asking for his "particular attention to the truly hard case of Captain Flinders", and requesting his release and removal to India. The Admiral commanding the East India Station made a similar appeal. Even Admiral Linois, not on the best of terms with De Caen, sympathized with the prisoner's position and endeavoured to obtain his liberation. All these attempts were met by an uncompromising attitude on the part of the Governor, who replied that having referred the case to his Government he must await its decision. Later on good French citizens on the island, friends of Flinders, who had a gift for friendship, petitioned Counsellors of State and Ministers in France, with the result that his case became as well known there as in England. Curiously enough the British Government remained inert, but allowed Sir Joseph Banks, who had been successful in effecting the release of several persons, to make a personal appeal to the French National Institute for its aid. A strong dispatch from Governor King to De Caen, dated the 30th April 1805, and setting forth in very plain terms indeed Flinders' claims for benevolent treatment, failed to move the stiff-backed Captain-General. Even when an order of release from the French Government reached his hands in July 1807, he found reasons for putting off its execution.

It is probable that the motives which directed De Caen's oppressive line of action in dealing with one who could be no docile puppet in his hands, but was on the contrary a very outspoken critic of his gaoler's conduct, cannot be set down to any one source. The Governor-General became involved, as it were, in his own treatment of his difficult captive, and doubtless there were times when he would have been glad to be rid of him if this had been possible without wounding his own self-esteem. The theory that Flinders was too acute an observer of the conditions of the island to be set free does not afford a fully satisfactory

(36) Note.

explanation, because many British prisoners, naval, military and mercantile, capable of gauging its internal situation, were brought to the island and later on released by exchange. Fine soldier as he was, and efficient Governor, De Caen was possibly lacking in an understanding of the true inwardness of "Reciprocity", that comprehensive expression selected by the Chinese philosopher Confucius to define a complete rule of life in a single word. Péron, in his confidential report to De Caen on New South Wales, referred to "that most implacable of all kinds of hatred, the hatred born of national animosity and differing convictions". Though used in another connection those words of the naturalist might well be applied to the Captain-General. But there was a vein of personal hostility running through his official relations with Flinders, whom he treated as the scapegoat of his national hate and the victim of his private rancour. Malte-Brun in later years expressed his views in trenchant terms:

"All the principles of the rights of nations and of honour demanded the release of a disciple of Captain Cook, of a peaceful explorer of unknown coasts and seas. The generous welcome that the English had given to the expedition of Baudin rendered more hateful the inhumanity with which the French Government kept Flinders a prisoner."

And he quoted a statement made by Count de Fleurieu, "that the indignities committed towards Flinders were without example in the nautical history of civilised nations" (37).

A countryman of De Caen, who in recent times has made a close study of his administration of the Isle of France from 1803 to 1810, finds himself unable to fathom the Governor's later manœuvres in the game he played with Flinders, though it was easy to find a sure explanation of the opening scene.

"For what reason", he asks, "did he prolong beyond all limits the detention of the explorer, and why did he dare so to evade the execution of an order from the Emperor? I do not know. Was it indeed mere obstinacy? . . . It is the plain truth and the exact truth, as I have proved, that the letter of Péron, who was speaking in that case as a political person, as a patriot, and not as a savant, brought about De Caen's original decision with regard to the explorer" (38).

Whether he took it to heart or not, the Captain-General of the Isle of France received a much needed lesson in the real meaning of reciprocity, under the very favourable terms of capitulation, free from any suggestion of reprisal, sanctioned by the British General six months after Flinders had been liberated.

Owing to a tiresome delay of six weeks at Cape Town Flinders

(37) Note. (38) Note.

did not reach England till October 1810. He found that he had already been promoted to the rank of post-captain. His commission, however, which should have been antedated to 1804, the year in which but for his detention by De Caen he would have arrived in England, was made out from the date of his release. Nor was this matter of promotion the only cause for disappointment. In a period notorious for the pensions and rewards lavishly paid for ordinary political support of party, the Imperial Government allowed the navigator to return without marking his great services to the Empire by a national award in keeping with their value. Men who risked their lives and health for the King and country should not, so it seemed, expect decent recognition except under very exceptional circumstances, such as the winning of battles. The pen was, of course, mightier than the sword, and charts of unknown seas, constructed with infinite labour and toil under perilous conditions, though useful enough for the expansion of commerce, could not weigh against votes correctly recorded and the submissive endorsing of parliamentary bills. The Admiralty was strangely inappreciative. Bold to the limits of rashness in its expenditure of injustice, a periodic ailment, and yet too timid to create healthy precedents in the payment of rewards, or to show any resilience in exceptional circumstances, in Flinders' case it kept him on half-pay during the few, very few, remaining years of his life, though these were fully employed by him on national service : the preparation of his work, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, in two volumes, with its accompanying atlas. To meet additional personal expenses while thus engaged he was allowed £200, and in lieu of compensation for his unhappy confinement in the Isle of France he received the sum of £500 !

Flinders' health had suffered during the voyage of the *Investigator*, and it became greatly impaired when he was kept a close prisoner for three months, shut up in a tavern at Port Louis, after his arrival there. Some recovery took place during the more open and healthy life he was afterwards allowed to lead on the island, but the high pressure at which he worked to complete his books and atlas gradually wore down his reduced powers of resistance. The work was published, but it came just too late for him to inspect it before his death, which took place on the 19th July 1814. Thus Flinders died, as he had lived throughout his career, engrossed in his work, honourably engaged in the service of the Empire. Even the years spent under compulsion at the Isle of France were devoted to technical pursuits and study. His professional interest was not confined to geographical discoveries alone. It included research in the field of scientific and practical navigation ; winds and the marine barometer, the magnetic

compass and tides, were subjects of his investigation. In a sympathetic eulogy published soon after the navigator's death Malte-Brun uttered no more than the truth when he wrote:

"Hardly had he finished his fine work (the *Voyage*), everlasting monument of his glory, than his physical existence came to an end, like a lamp which has no more oil. . . . In him geographical and nautical sciences have lost one of their most brilliant ornaments" (39).

It is a strange coincidence that the year which marked the settlement of the island that George Bass had done so much to make known to his countrymen witnessed his passing into a silence concerning his end that has never been broken. We have already seen that when he arrived at Sydney in the brig *Venus*, one of the early vessels to pass through Bass Strait, he found that his cargo of general merchandise was unsaleable, owing to a glut in the market and the restriction placed by Governor King on the sale prices of goods offered to the inhabitants of the colony. The contract then entered into to bring salted pork from Tahiti gave him an opportunity to employ his vessel till better times should come. This speculation turned out fairly well. The *Venus* left Port Jackson on the 23rd November 1801, and proceeded to Dusky Sound, in the South Island of New Zealand, to cut timber for making casks for salted meat. Here Bass picked up some old ship's stores and iron from a vessel which had been wrecked and beached in the Sound in 1795, material quite useful as presents or for the purchase of pigs at Tahiti. Always ready to note anything and everything offering some opportunity for good business, this visit to Dusky Sound was not lost on Bass. It seems certain that it gave birth to a most promising scheme which later on took shape, but was destined, unhappily, never to be put into practice. The *Venus* arrived at Tahiti safely. A party was landed to carry on the salting-down process, and Bass then went on to the Sandwich Islands to purchase salt, returning later to Tahiti to pick up his main cargo. The vessel arrived back at Port Jackson on the 14th November 1802, finding the French discovery ships in the harbour. Baudin sailed on the 17th November, and it was during this short interval that Bass and Péron had the interview recorded in the previous chapter.

While the *Venus* was being careened in Sydney harbour, and receiving necessary repairs, Bass had time to develop his scheme. It consisted of a proposal to establish a fishery at the southern end of New Zealand. He was to have an exclusive lease for seven years of the area lying south of a line drawn from Dusky

(39) Note.

Sound on the west to the coast on the east of South Island, near where Dunedin now stands. This monopoly was to include fishing and sealing rights over the Bounty Isles, Antipodes Isle, and the Snares, and the seas within ten leagues of their coasts. If the industry succeeded an extension of twenty-one years was to be granted. As a preliminary step he intended to visit those islands, secure a cargo of seal-skins, take them to England, and then bring out his wife to New Zealand and establish his fishery. To what extent Governor King committed himself to this fine proposition does not appear, but it seems certain that it met with his approval, and that there was a mutual understanding that the concession would eventually receive official sanction. An undertaking of another kind, however, had to precede the fishery scheme. In a letter to his brother-in-law, Captain Waterhouse, written at Port Jackson on the 2nd February 1803, Bass gave indications of the nature of the new venture :

" In a few hours I sail again on another pork voyage, but it combines circumstances of different nature also. From this place I go to New Zealand to pick up something more from the wreck of the old *Endeavour* in Dusky Bay, then visit some of the islands lying south of it in search of seals and fish. The former, should they be found, are intended to furnish a cargo to England immediately on my return from this trip. The fish are to answer a proposal I have made to Government to establish a fishery on condition of receiving an exclusive privilege of the south part of New Zealand and of its neighbouring isles, which privilege is at once to be granted to me. . . . We have, I assure you, great plans in our heads, but like the basket of eggs, all depends upon the success of the voyage I am now upon. In the course of it I intend to visit the coast of Chili in search of provisions for the use of His Brit. Majesty's colony, and that they may not in that part of the world mistake me for a contrabandisto, I go provided with a very diplomatic looking certificate from the Governor here, stating the service upon which I am employed, requesting aid and protection in obtaining the goods wanted. . . . Bishop's state of health is improving, though very slowly. He being altogether unfit for strong undertakings stays behind here till my return, or until one hears I am digging gold in So. America. . . . Speak not of So. America to any one of your family, for there is treason in the very name ! Pleasing prospects surround us, which time must give into our hands. There are apparent openings for good doings, none of which are likely to be tried for until after my return."

Bishop was Bass's partner, and held a share in the *Venus*, of which he had been captain. He was left behind at Sydney on account of mental trouble, and Bass was in command of the brig, and Robert Scott, who also had an interest in the venture, was her mate, when she left Port Jackson on the 5th February 1803.

From that date no authentic news concerning the fate of Bass and his companions has ever been received, even "the brotherhood of the seas" has failed to produce anything beyond a vague rumour.

There is reason to believe that when Bass set out on that final voyage he had in mind some other business than that of procuring salted provisions. The letter quoted above gives a pretty clear inkling of it, and he took with him, "for the purpose of a new scheme", some of the goods still remaining unsold that had been brought from Europe. Bass proposed, we may be sure, to do some private and profitable trading with the Chilians or the Peruvians, in spite of the embargo placed by the Spaniards on such transactions in their colonies. Governor King knew that such a trade was being carried on by British ships, and he probably had his suspicions concerning the nature of Bass's intentions. Nevertheless he provided for the use of the voyagers the diplomatic looking certificate which covered at least the official part of the enterprise. Dated the 3rd February 1803, it ran as follows:

"I certify that the bearer, Mr. George Bass, of the brigantine *Venus*, has been employed since the first day of November, 1801, upon His Britannic Majesty's service in procuring provisions for the subsistence of His Majesty's colony, and still continues using those exertions. Now should he, in order to avoid a long and precarious research among the islands of the Pacific Ocean, find it expedient to resort to any harbour or port of His Catholic Majesty's dominions upon the West Coast of America, this instrument is intended to declare my full belief that his sole object in going there will be to procure animal food, live stock for breeding, (which the colony is much in want of), and such other articles of food as he may be allowed to purchase, without any view to private commerce or any other view whatsoever."

As time passed on fears began to be entertained in Sydney concerning the safety of Bass. It was rumoured that he had been captured by the Spaniards when landing from his boat at one of the South American ports, that his vessel and her crew had been seized and the captives sent inland to the mines. Such was the vague report brought by the *Harrington*, a small vessel of 180 tons, that appears to have done some contraband trading. She was owned by a Madras firm, and occasionally called at Port Jackson. Probably her movements were conducted with a certain amount of secrecy, but this voyage was well recorded, for she left Sydney for Peru in June 1803, and returned there on the 9th January 1804, from Madras. She carried 6 guns and 39 men and must therefore have been well able to take her own part in any misunderstanding with armed Spanish guard-ships of her own size. The *Venus*, though she carried 8 guns, had only 25 men.

One or two other stories about Bass reached Sydney, but being unconfirmed carried no weight. In a dispatch to Lord Hobart of the 1st March 1804, King wrote: "After a twelve months' absence Bass is not yet returned, which makes me apprehensive for his safety", and in the following December he remarked on the fact that it was two years since he had heard from Tahiti, although he had been in constant expectation of hearing something by Bass, "to whom there is no doubt that some accident has occurred". It is worth noting that in a second letter to Hobart of the same date, 20th December, King discussed the nature of the "forced trade" that was being carried on by owners of East Indian ships with the Spanish possessions on the west coast of America. He may have had Bass's venture in mind, but he stated that, without official sanction, he would not permit colonial vessels to engage in that risky business. As late as February 1805, it would seem that in Sydney the fate of Bass was still regarded as uncertain. Writing to Banks on the 22nd of that month, Robert Brown made the following comment:

"Of Mr. Bass we begin to despair. He has now been absent about two years, and it is to be fear'd has either fallen a sacrifice to the treachery of the South Sea Islanders, who are daily becoming more daring, or what is fully as probable, has expos'd himself to be captur'd on the coast of Peru."

We have lingered, perhaps rather long, over the dry bones of those last perplexed conjectures about the fate of Bass. But as we have been deprived of any authentic details concerning his end, whenever or wherever it occurred, so are we the more unwilling to miss anything that may belong to his career. Bass was such a veritable pioneer, so full of hope, optimism, cheerfulness and readiness to put fortune and his own powers to the test of experience, that we feel the hurt of the guillotine stroke that brings us suddenly upon an unechoing void. . . .

If "their little lives were rounded with a sleep" all too soon, as we may think, Flinders and Bass, always firmly established, have grown with passing years in the high estimation and admiration of the peoples of those countries where they expended themselves for the advancement of human knowledge and human progress. Some half-dozen monuments have been erected in various places in Australia to commemorate the navigator, and a fine cairn at Western Port has been dedicated to the two friends and co-workers. Tasmania shares with Australia a record of another kind, the great open waterway that bears the name—Bass Strait.

APPENDIX A

LETTERS OF CAPTAIN BAUDIN

Commodore Baudin to The Administrators-General of the Islands of France and Reunion

On board the corvette *Le Géographe*,
Port Jackson,
2nd November 1802.

Citizens,

I have the honour of informing you by the American vessel the *Fanny*, Captain Smith, which goes to Batavia, of my stay in port in this colony. The details I have entered into to let you know the sad position in which I was then, will have enabled you to judge the state of distress we had been reduced to, and how fortunate we have been in choosing this port in preference to others.

The assistance we have found here, the kindness of Governor King towards us, his generous attentions for the recovery of our sick men, his love for the progress of science—in short, everything seemed to have united to make us forget the hardships of a long and painful voyage, which was often impeded by the inclemency of the weather; and yet, the fact of the peace being signed was unknown, and we only heard of it when our sick men had recovered, our vessels had been repaired, our provisions shipped, and when our departure was near at hand.

Whatever the duties of hospitality may be, Governor King has given the whole of Europe the example of a benevolence which should be known, and which I take a great pleasure in publishing.

On our arrival at Port Jackson the stock of wheat there was very limited, and that for the future very uncertain. The arrival of 170 men was not a happy circumstance at the time, yet we were well received; and when our present and future wants were known, they were supplied by shortening part of the daily ration allowed to the inhabitants and the garrison of the colony. The Governor first gave the example. Through those means, which do so great honour to the humane feelings of him who put them into motion, we have enjoyed a favour which we would perhaps have experienced much difficulty in finding anywhere else.

After such treatment, which ought in future to serve as an example for all the nations, I consider it my duty, as much out of gratitude as

by inclination, to recommend particularly to you, Mr....., Commander of H.M.S.....

Although he does not propose to call at the Isle of France, it may be possible some unforseen circumstance might compel him to put into port in the colony, the government of which is entrusted to you. Having been a witness of the kind manner with which his countrymen have treated us on every occasion, I hope he will be convinced by his own experience that Frenchmen are not less hospitable and benevolent ; and then his mother country will have over us the only advantage of having done in times of war what happier times enabled us to return to her in time of peace.

I have, &c.,
N. Baudin.

Reference : Vol. IV, *Historical Records of N.S.W.*, p. 969. English Translation.

Commodore Baudin to Governor King

On board the corvette *Le Géographe,*
Port Jackson,
16*th November* 1802.

Sir,

In leaving this colony, I bequeath to the French nation the duty of offering you the thanks which are due to you as Governor for all you have done, as well for ourselves as for the success of the expedition ; but it is for me to assure you how valuable your friendship has been and will ever be to me, if you will allow me to put you in mind of it whenever an opportunity offers itself.

The sincerity and honorableness of all your dealings with me leave no doubt in my mind that you will give me the permission I ask for, the more so as the opportunities of my meeting you after leaving this port will be exceedingly rare. It will therefore be a satisfaction for me to correspond with you from whatever country events may bring me to. It is, as you know, the only means which men who love and esteem one another can make use of, and it will be the one we shall reciprocally avail ourselves of if, on your part, I have been able by my conduct to inspire you with the feelings which yours has inspired me with.

I have, &c.,
N. Baudin.

Reference: Vol. IV, *Historical Records of N.S.W.*, p. 1006. English Translation.

Commodore Baudin to Governor King

Elephant's Bay,
23*rd December* 1802.

After having answered your letter as Governor-General of the British settlements in New South Wales, I now write you as Mr. King, my friend, for whom I shall always have a peculiar regard. It is on this ground alone I shall enter into details with you and tell you frankly

my way of thinking; but nothing which this letter contains will be relative to the policy of Governments and still less with your erroneous pretensions about Van Diemen's Land, which you did not know any more than myself when you included it within the modest limits which your foresight made you take for your new territory. However, everyone knows that Tasman and his heirs did not bequeath it by will to you; therefore you may expect that sooner or later they will say to you, "*Sic vos non vobis nidificatis*," &c.

To my way of thinking, I have never been able to conceive that there was justice and equity on the part of Europeans in seizing, in the name of their Governments, a land seen for the first time, when it is inhabited by men who have not always deserved the title of savages or cannibals which has been given them, whilst they were but the children of nature and just as little civilised as are actually your Scotch Highlanders or our peasants in Brittany, who, if they do not eat their fellow men, are nevertheless just as objectionable. From this it appears to me that it would be infinitely more glorious for your nation, as for mine, to mould for society the inhabitants of the respective countries over whom they have rights, instead of wishing to occupy themselves in improving those who are so far removed by immediately seizing the soil which they own and which has given them birth. These remarks are no doubt impolitic, but at least reasonable from the facts; and had this principle been generally adopted you would not have been obliged to have formed a colony by means of men branded by the law, and who have become criminals through the fault of Government which has neglected and abandoned them to themselves. It follows therefore that not only have you to reproach yourselves with an injustice in seizing their land, but also in transporting on a soil where the crimes and the diseases of Europeans were unknown all that could retard the progress of civilisation, which has served as a pretext to your Government, &c.

If you will reflect upon the conduct of the natives since the beginning of your establishment upon their territory, you will perceive that their aversion for you, and also for your customs, has been occasioned by the idea which they have formed of those who wished to live amongst them. Notwithstanding your precautions and the punishments undergone by those among your people who have ill-treated them, they have been enabled to see through your projects for the future; but being too feeble to resist you, the fear of your arms has made them emigrate, so that the hope of seeing them mix with you is lost, and you will presently remain the peaceful possessors of their heritage, as the small number of those surrounding you will not long exist.

I have no knowledge of the claims which the French Government may have upon Van Diemen's Land, nor of its designs for the future; but I think that its title will not be any better grounded than yours. However, if it were sufficient (according to the principle you have adopted) to have explored a country in order to vest it in those who made it known first, you would have no claims. To convince oneself well that it was not the English, it is but necessary to cast eyes on the ideal

maps prepared by your geographer, Arrowsmith, and compare them with those of Beautemps Beaupré, which leave nothing to be desired.

I was well convinced that the arrival of the *Cumberland* had another motive than merely to bring me your letter ; but I did not think it was for the purpose of hoisting the British flag precisely on the spot where our tents had been pitched a long time previous to her arrival. I frankly confess that I am displeased that such has taken place. That childish ceremony was ridiculous, and has become more so from the manner in which the flag was placed, the head being downwards and the attitude not very majestic. Having occasion to go on shore that day, I saw for myself what I am telling you. I thought at first it might have been a flag which had served to strain water and then hung out to dry ; but seeing an armed man walking about, I was informed of the ceremony which had taken place that morning. I took great care in mentioning it to your captain, but our scientists, with whom he dined, joked about it ; and Mr. Petit, of whose cleverness you are aware, made a complete caricature of the event. It is true that the flag sentry was sketched. I tore up this caricature as soon as I saw it, and gave instructions that such was not to be repeated in future.

The hurried departure of the *Cumberland* was the reason why they left without so many necessaries. I gave Mr. Robbins, without regard to his having placed his flag over our tents, everything which he requested from me in the shape of gunpowder, sails, thread, needles, lead and sounding line, old ropes &c. Our forge worked two days for him. I was unable to replace the anchor which he had lost, having none to suit him. The day following my arrival I despatched the *Casuarina* on a visit to Hunter's Islands and those south of King's Island. We had already sighted three previous to anchoring at the one from which I write to you.

I wish to inform you that about two miles east-north-east from the small island which your fishermen call Elephant Rock there is a high ground, upon which the sea but seldom breaks. It is easier to recognise it by the elevation of the waves in that part when the water is calm than by any other sign. We only found 5 or 6 fathoms of water in the surroundings, but a mile away to the east a great eddy of the tide was seen, from which I conclude there is but little water. As night was coming on and the weather unsuitable, seeing we had to leave our anchorage, I have left it for another period, deeming it prudent to shun danger until it were better known.

I am very sorry that King's Island bears your name, inasmuch as it appears to me to be of no use whatever, offering merely a passing resource for the fishery of the sea-wolf and the seal, which the fishermen call sea-elephants. We sailed round the entire coast and observed it minutely. The island has neither harbour or bay in the eastern part which could shelter vessels when the winds blow from the south-south-west to the north-north-west in passing by the east. The western coast is not more favoured, and still less the southern one. In the north-western part there is a fairly good place. The anchorage is formed by a projecting point and two other islands a little apart

which break the force of the waves. The entrance, without being difficult, is nevertheless not without danger. Outside of the two little islands mentioned above, there is a great widespreading reef of rocks almost level with the water, which must be shunned in coming from the west. Two other reefs through which it is necessary to pass in order to anchor are visible enough not to be feared. Elephant's Bay is only good for ruining traders by the loss of anchors and cables. I myself have dropped two at this anchoring place, the *Naturaliste* one, and the *Cumberland* one. At thirteen fathoms the sounding shows a fine sandy bottom, but by means of the dredge I have assured myself that there were but rocks covered with a thin layer of sand. At eleven fathoms the layer of sand is a little thicker, but still rocky. At eight fathoms the rocks are less common and at some distance from each other. Notwithstanding these variations it will always remain a bad unreliable bottom. With 100 fathoms of cable I was unable to hold out against a moderate breeze from the east, and I saw myself compelled to set sail. The tidal current at its swiftest flows at the rate of two miles an hour. It is necessary that the time of the tides be determined, as their duration depends upon the prevailing winds. I have replaced the water consumed since my departure from Port Jackson. I do not think it will keep, the pool from which the water was taken having but few currents. It is of a reddish colour through passing over ferruginous spots ; the taste is not unpleasant. The entire coast about Elephant's Bay is bounded by reefs, which renders landing difficult. To effect a landing with ease, it is necessary to beach the cutter between rocks, and pull it quickly ashore over the sands ; otherwise it would be instantly dashed to pieces.

There is every appearance that in a short time your fishermen will have drained the island of its resources by the fishery of the sea-wolf and the sea-elephant. Both will soon abandon their resorts to you if time be not allowed them to recruit their numbers, which have been much diminished by the destructive war carried on against them. They are becoming scarce already, and if you do not issue an order you will soon hear that they have entirely disappeared.

We have not been very happy during our sojourn at the island, bad weather having followed us almost continuously. Three times I have been obliged to stand off. Our naturalists, who spent twenty days ashore, did not find a wealth of specimens. Fifty-five new plants are all they bring with them, for I do not count a few shells and other trivial objects. We have about twenty different species of birds which are not to be found around Port Jackson. A remarkable coincidence is that we gathered plants similar to those we found upon Sea-dog Bay, between the 27° and 28° south latitude. The emu, wombat and kangaroo are not rare, but hunting them is no easy matter, the great number of venomous snakes rendering it dangerous for men, and the dogs often fall victims to them. It is no less difficult to penetrate into the bush, on account of the thickness of the underbrush and other herbaceous plants.

The latitude of the island or rock of Elephant's Bay is 39° 69.20′, and the longitude, from many astronomical observations, 162° 12′

from the meridian of Paris. Consequently the island is more easterly than was thought. Had our geographers been more diligent, they would have forwarded you a copy of the chart they are drawing out, but it is yet but little advanced.

I would wish you to present my respects to Madame King, and recall me to her remembrance, as also to Miss Elizabeth, and all the other people whom I had the pleasure of meeting at your house. I expect to receive one of your letters at the Isle of France, and trust that afterwards we may meet in London or Paris. Notwithstanding the prevailing westerly winds, the *Naturaliste* left to order the dinner for which you have to pay.

I have, &c.,
N. Baudin.

Reference : Vol. V, *Historical Records of N.S.W.*, p. 830. English Translation.

Commodore Baudin to Governor King

On board the corvette *Le Géographe*,
Isle of France,
18*th August* 1803.

Sir,

I seize the opportunity of an American vessel which, after having recruited her crew in the Islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam, contemplates going to Port Jackson to sell some furs and other articles in your country.

Since I had the honour of seeing you I spent nine months in exploring the coasts of New Holland, which work is at last completed ; but, however, not without some blanks here and there.

On my second visit to Timor I was informed of the passing of Mr. Flinders and of the bad state in which his ship was. I sincerely hope that he reached you without any other accident.

Le Naturaliste took forty-one days to go from King Island to the Isle of France, which she left almost immediately. She must have arrived in France a long time since. Her collections of living animals and plants were in excellent condition. Mr. & Mrs. Thomson were well, and enjoyed their short sojourn here very much.

Our astronomer, Mr. Bernier, whom you knew, died at the entrance of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and we all regretted his loss. As for me, I was twice taken ill, and so badly too that the doctors often predicted that my career was at an end ; but they made a mistake, and since my arrival here I have been slowly progressing towards recovery.

I have fixed my departure for France for the month of December next. They say that there exist some political complications between your nation and mine, but I hope that the black cloud that has arisen will pass away without our hearing any thundering. At all events, I remind myself to your friendship, and pray you to believe that we shall always be friends.

I have, &c.
N. Baudin.

Kindly give my respects to Mrs. King and Miss Elizabeth, and remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Paterson, Mr. and Mrs. Belassy, Chapman, Palmer, &c.

In spite of the bad weather the *Casuarina* has always accompanied me, and is now in port here.

Reference : Vol. V, *Historical Records of N.S.W.*, p. 202. English Translation.

APPENDIX B

THE ABORIGINES OF TASMANIA

Throughout this volume particular care has been taken to make full use of the observations that the various voyagers made concerning the natives of the island, especially those of Cook and Anderson, Labillardière and Péron. The extracts chosen have been deliberately set down in the words used by the writers (or translations of them), chiefly in order that readers might have a first-hand presentation of the mode of life of the inhabitants so far as the early visitors were able to carry forward their investigations. Those investigations regarding the only prehistoric race which persisted through the ages to recent times free from all contact with other peoples, untouched by any trace of civilization, are not sufficient, even when combined with those of later observers, to satisfy the requirements of present-day anthropologists, who wish to place, in a manner beyond all doubt, the Tasmanian representatives of palæolothic man in the niche that properly belongs to them, on account of their special "culture", amongst the early races of mankind. That culture, it is now certain, puts them in a higher position than has been allotted to them in the past by some writers. It is due to that ancient race, the descendants of the first pioneers of the island, that their successors in the occupation of the land should bear that people in mind, and make themselves familiar, as far as it is possible to do, with their story. It will presently be indicated in what ways one archæologist, whose aim it is that full justice should be done to their standard of culture, would have us carry on further research, for if they have become, as one description has it, "The Lost Tasmanian Race", it should never be allowed that they should also become "The Forgotten Tasmanian Race".

There is another reason why intensive study is required. Professor (afterwards Sir) E. B. Tylor, F.R.S., in the preface of H. L. Roth's work, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, stated that "the life of the Tasmanians may give some idea of the conditions of the earlier prehistoric tribes of the Old World, allowing for a milder climate on the one hand, but a want of great animals on the other." It will be a notable thing if, when knowledge about the Tasmanian savage is complete as far as human endeavour can make it so, he should be found acting the part in Europe of chief interpreter of his contemporaries of the stone age.

H. L. Roth, in the book referred to above, the second edition of which was published in 1899 and still remains for the student the classic

PLATE 14 EARLY HISTORY OF TASMANIA

PORTRAITS OF NATIVES:— *From studies by Miss V. Hose after T Bock.*

text-book on the subject, insists on the necessity for differentiating carefully between two periods, pre-settlement and after-settlement, because of the great changes wrought in the lives of the natives by the intrusion of white people. For the aborigines there were, however, three ages: (1) The Prehistoric Age, which lasted down to the year 1772, when Marion appeared on the scene (for Tasman did not come into contact with the race in 1642), (2) The First Historic Age, 1772–1803, and (3) The Second Historic Age, 1803 to the year 1876, when the last surviving member of the race, Truganini, died. It is on the middle period, therefore, that we must fix our gaze if we are to have a true picture of the native in his own surroundings. Knowledge gained by observations made in the third age may help to fill in certain details, but the use of such aids to understanding must be made with caution, so that there may be no misrepresentation of facts, and the customs and habits of the natives, properly belonging to the third period, be set down as relating to their primitive state. An example of this danger may be given. None of the voyagers whose remarks have been quoted in this volume ever saw the inhabitants making fire, but all noted the innumerable "smokes" invariably seen along the coasts. Some thought that fire was obtained from the sparks of flints, and recorded the fact that wood-powder or fine shavings were included in the slender possessions carried about by the savages in their wanderings. Fire was, of course, an essential in their mode of life; it was needed as a means of obtaining warmth in a damp and sometimes trying climate, and the cooking of food was not only an established custom but a fine art, exceeding in its efficiency and domestic economy the over-elaborate and generally variegated performance of our present age.

How, it may be asked, was fire actually obtained by the natives otherwise than by lightning? That they constantly carried about fire-sticks or smouldering torches is certain, and even the canoes or floats used for transport between the mainland and Bruny Island or Maria Island were provided with "fire-places" for its transport. Why all this elaborate care if fire could always be obtained by friction? Yet in the third period, natives were found, it was stated, using the hand fire-drill or the wooden groove and friction process, and it was therefore assumed that these methods were in use in earlier ages, although in that later period natives from Australia, who had knowledge of such fire-production, had already been in contact with those of Tasmania. The evidence is conflicting, but while it seems certain that they did not obtain fire from the sparking of their so-called flint tools, they may perhaps have had knowledge of the groove-process, though this would be used as seldom as possible, both on account of its difficulty and the comparative ease with which fire could be carried from place to place, the wood-powder and shavings then coming into play. The aboriginal man of Tasmania did not, if he could avoid it, indulge in active exercise.

It must always be regretted that none of the floats or canoes actually used by the natives have been preserved (Plate 15). A few diminutive models made by them for white people during the third period have found their way into museums. Of three such

imitations of their ancient constructions in the Hobart Museum two are made with the bark of the eucalyptus tree called "stringy-bark" (*E. obliqua*), while the third is formed of the laminated soft bark of the swamp tea-tree (*Melaleuca*). Each of these is held together by network, either of twisted grass or the tough bark of the tree locally known as curri-jong (*Plagianthus sidoides*). The one specimen in the British Museum (where its meagre display of Tasmanian relics covers a superficial area 45″ × 25″!) is of stringy-bark. The Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford possesses two small models, brought to England in 1843 by Sir John Franklin, which show a remarkable contrast. One of these is of the tea-tree type, and is held together by curri-jong webbing, rather carelessly arranged. The other exhibit is of quite a different kind, and if it is a true reproduction of a type of canoe used in the primitive stage indicates a marked advance on the web-bound class of float. In this case the webbing or network is replaced by a number of circular bonds, symmetrically placed along the length of the construction after the manner of iron hoops on a cask. The material thus firmly bound together consists of reeds, probably *Typha angustifolia* (see Note No. 25), and the whole has a very neat appearance compared with the other float. Each of these models is composed of three members, namely, a thick keel-piece and two smaller bulwark-pieces. L. Freycinet described the three members of the canoes he examined as being similar in shape to the yard-arms of a ship, that is, thick in the centre and tapering towards each end, and the simile is a good one. In cross-section the keel-piece is oval in form, with the bulwark members above forming two small separate circles. A remarkable feature about this reed-float is its close resemblance to a model, made with thick reeds, of the "canoes" in present-day use on Lake Chad. This has the usual three members, but a specimen in the same case, very similar in type, from South America, has four members. Thus from three widely separated parts of the globe we have representations, almost identical in construction, of the means of transport by water used by native races. But with regard to the aborigines of Tasmania we are still left wondering why it was that the early inhabitants of the northern end of the island, so far as is known, were without such conveniences.

Judging by the small number of canoes noted by the early visitors, though they could hardly have seen all of those in use at the time, either in D'Entrecasteaux Channel or at Maria Island, the "boat-building industry" could not have made a heavy call on the time of the natives. Nor was the housing problem one that greatly concerned them, and no doubt it solved itself easily from day to day. Even a curved break-wind, 20 feet long, such as Labillardière noticed, with its rough framework of branches acting as a support for the covering sheets of eucalyptus bark, would not demand much skill and exertion from experienced bushmen, who would naturally select sites for their shelters where the necessary building material was growing close at hand (Plate 15). There were, however, two matters of quite serious importance in the work-a-day world of those men of the woods. These were the food question and the maintenance of the tool supply,

and they were closely related to each other. Fortunately the island at that time was and probably always had been teeming with wild game. Beasts and birds, as the records show, were plentiful everywhere, while rocky shores and shallow bays could be relied on to afford generous additions to such fare in the form of oysters, crayfish, sea-ears (mutton-fish), crabs, mussels and limpets, so that there was little fear of real shortage. But the problem must remain unsolved by what unhappy cause it had come about that the natives deliberately refrained from eating the scaled fish that abounded along the coasts, and even that most nutritious class of sea-produce, the rays, that frequented shallow bays and were to be obtained so easily by spearing.

Notwithstanding this widespread sufficiency of acceptable food there must have been times, especially in winter, when the hunting was not good and supplies became intermittent, for these people had discovered no methods of preserving or curing stocks when plentiful, and they were without any means of food storage. Moreover, had they possessed these advantages, the question of transport during their seasonal excursions within the bounds of their tribal districts would have been a difficult one for the women-folk, who in addition to their duties as fishers appear to have been the carriers responsible for the conveyance of household goods from place to place. The lordly men-folk might enjoy the pleasures of the chase, but prying about and diving for shell-fish was not attractive sport for them, nor could they permit their free movement through the bush to be handicapped by the carriage of weights.

Thus they lived from day to day, confident that the morrow, if luck served, would provide for itself. As hunters of game they were highly skilled, and although they had not reached the stage of setting nets and traps for catching animals their marvellous powers of tracking enabled them to seize opportunities for finding their quarry beyond the powers of white people to turn to advantage. To this possession of bush craft must be added the practice of a systematic game culture. Large tracts of country were frequently burnt off to keep down undergrowth, and this was carried out for two purposes, to make easy hunting and to provide attractive pasture lands for every species of their prey: emus, kangaroos, wallabies, and the small fry of the forests. Bowen remarked on the park-like nature of much of the country he visited when starting his settlement on the Derwent, Paterson discovered thousands of acres of even finer open country on the North Esk River, and there were many other wide areas of a similar nature elsewhere as yet unseen by white men. This condition could only have resulted from one agency, the regular destruction of brushwood, and we shall certainly not be over estimating the sagacity of the race if we assume that the operation was carried on by some ordered plan of rotation.

The burning of undergrowth had an added advantage for the natives, in that it induced the growth of bracken fern, *Pteris esculenta* (see Note No. 17), which was probably their chief vegetable food, the roots for the starch or sugary matter extracted by chewing (the fibre being discarded), and the tender young shoots for their value as green

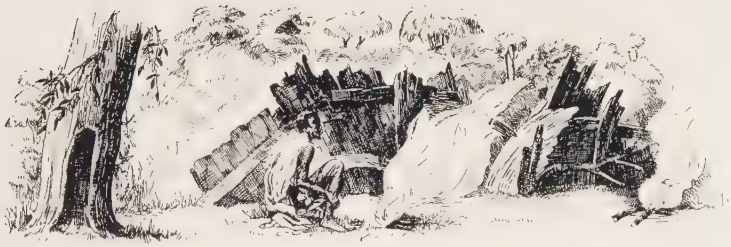
food. But there were many other vegetable products that were available for consumption. Later investigations have shown that there were well over fifty plants that contributed possible vegetable foods for the inhabitants, and some of these entered largely into their ordinary diet. The roots and young shoots of bulrushes (*Typha angustifolia*), mushrooms, the pith or pulp of tree ferns, the seeds of wattle-trees (*Acacia*), the flowers of the honeysuckle (*Banksia*), certain fungi growing on trees, native potatoes and carrots, the fruit of a species of mesembryanthemum called Pig-face, and the underground fungus called Native Bread (*Mylitta australis*), were amongst the most common. The natural product known as manna, similar in nature to the manna of the Sinai Peninsula (the supposed Heaven-sent "bread" of the Israelites), may be added to this list. In Sinai this saccharine gum issues from tamarisk trees, the exudation being caused by punctures in the bark made by insects. Recent research in the Sinai Peninsula seems to indicate that part of the process of formation consists of a passage of the matter through the skin of the insect (coccus), when gorged with the secretion. Found in Tasmania beneath certain eucalypts, it has been noted that its production is associated with the presence of black locusts. An early writer on Tasmania reported that he was able to fill his pockets to overflowing with "the pure snow-white substance which for sweetness has no rival." Tasmanian manna is a spring and summer harvest, and was eagerly sought by the natives.

When dealing with the vegetable foods of the natives H. L. Roth ruled out all those that *might* have been used by them but were not specifically recorded as known adjuncts to their regimen. Such a restrictive process cannot be accepted without protest, for not only was the documentary evidence on this subject lacking in precision, but it is only reasonable to infer that with the accumulated experience of many centuries the inhabitants had arrived at a very definite knowledge about every species of the vegetable kingdom available for the support of life. It is indeed probable that without a very extensive and serviceable acquaintance with the natural history of the island, the garnered capital stock of generations, the race could not have survived in the struggle for existence. From its *known* intelligence concerning the use of a varied assortment of the food-stuffs at its command we are more justified by some such inductive method in assuming that that command was very complete than in denying it, by too pronounced an attitude of reserve, credit for perspicacity that may well be its due.

A more important factor, however, than the quantity of the food supplies of the natives was their quality. It is well known that amongst white people larger quantities of foods are made use of than are really necessary, provided the food constituents for proper nutrition are actually consumed. One recent writer (*Diet in Relation to Normal Nutrition*, by Dr. J. M. Hamill, Ministry of Health, London, 1921, p. 3) puts the case this way: "A diet may be constructed from simple and relatively few food-stuffs which so far as present knowledge goes may be regarded as meeting essential nutritive requirements." The

PLATE 15 EARLY HISTORY OF TASMANIA

Canoe. Maria Is



Breakwind

Stone Tool

Stone Tool: Moustierian Type

Water-bag

Basket

Aurignacian Type

Tomb. Maria Is

Tomb: Maria Is.

NATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS:- *From studies by Mr E C French. The Stone Implements are reproduced by courtesy of Mr H^y Balfour, F.R.S., and the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia. The other constructions are from drawings by M. Lesueur, artist of the Baudin Expedition, published about 1808.*

question naturally arises, therefore, how far were the natives of Tasmania supplied with those food materials that were necessary for such needs? At the present time a great deal of information on diet, nutrition and food values is being broadcasted, so to speak, for the benefit and welfare of the children of white races, and attempts are being made to bring home to parents the results of careful research work that is always going on. Such terms as proteins, carbo-hydrates, fats, mineral requirements of the body, and vitamins, are gradually becoming familiar expressions in the lives of ordinary people outside professional circles, and all such investigations into food values, quite apart from their peculiarly personal interest, will have their appeal for those who would carry their application back to the race that inhabited the island under primitive conditions. A satisfactory answer to the question raised above cannot be given till the nutritive constituents of the foods used by the natives have been well established. As an instance of the need for such research the sea-weed (*Fucus palmatus*), which they are known to have eaten, after roasting, may be mentioned, and there were other plants of the seashores that may have been included in their diet. The economic value of kelp as a fertilizer is well known, but the natives utilized it directly, gaining a distinct advantage thereby. The argument applies equally to all the vegetable foods containing carbo-hydrates, the constituent in which the ordinary diet of the natives may possibly have been deficient. Leschenault, the botanist of the Baudin expedition, remarked that he did not find a single cereal plant which the island race could have developed by cultivation, nevertheless it may be that food-stuffs provided by nature contained enough carbo-hydrates to ensure, in conjunction with fats and a generous amount of proteins, a diet sufficing for all purposes, including heating and energy requirements. It has been suggested that shortage of carbo-hydrates was responsible for a backward mental condition of the race, and explains its lack of development. This interesting, not to say fantastic, theory must remain on the stocks till it can be proved that carbo-hydrates in sufficient quantities were wanting, and that the race made no progress towards betterment of conditions. On the question of relative proportions of the proximate principles in a diet Dr. Hamill remarks that the power of the body to adapt itself within wide limits to diets varying greatly in composition adds considerably to the complexity of the problem. It so happens that quite recently light has been thrown upon the mental equipment of the Tasmanian aborigines, and this extension of knowledge must go some way to settle any question of mind-force in its relation to food deficiency.

When primitive men slowly made their way southwards across the continent of Australia and spread themselves through Tasmania, then a part of that continent, they certainly carried with them the art of chipping pebbles or rocks for the purpose of supplying themselves with stone implements or hand-tools. Moreover the movement from the north could hardly have taken place unless adaptable rock material had been met with on the way. When the island was cut off from the mainland by natural forces, who shall say how many thousands of years ago, the natives and their descendants became dependent upon

local resources and any personal skill they possessed in shaping what nature had thus provided to suit their varied requirements. For them their stone-tools were as necessary as his kit to a carpenter: saw, chisel, gouge, plane or spoke-shave, cutting-knife and hand-axe. Their main purposes were the fashioning of spears and short hand-sticks, the former chiefly for spearing game and perhaps at times for fighting other tribes. Baudin remarked that he saw no evidences of body-wounds amongst the natives whom he came across, and it is probable that inter-tribal wars were of small account in the lives of the savages. The hand-sticks, or waddies, some pointed at each end, and others with round ends, and all made of hardwood, would be useful in many ways for dibbling holes in the ground for the tree branches forming the frames of wind-shelters, for digging the roots of bracken and bulrushes as well as "native" bread, potatoes and carrots, and for stirring up ant-nests for the sake of the eggs. They were also used as throwing-sticks for killing birds and small animals and even as weapons. Other uses for stone-tools were the cutting of strips of bark for the outer covering of break-winds, the manufacture of wooden spatulas or wedges for the convenience of the women gathering sea-ears and limpets from rocks, the cutting of notches in trees, also the work of women, when they were called upon to ascend trees to catch opossums or gather birds' eggs. The gouging of tree-trunks for the extraction of the succulent wood-grubs, a favourite food and one not eschewed by youths of European race, would require a tool of special construction for its successful performance. Such an instrument would also be useful (though there is no record of such a custom) for bruising the bark of black wattle-trees (*acacia*), to induce the flow of the sugary gum that formed one of the few sweetmeats of the natives, and for the boring of holes if fire-drills were actually made use of.

Because of their indestructible nature the tools of the natives, whether well or ill-made, have survived their makers, and it is from the forms and shapes of some of them that archæologists have endeavoured to place the aboriginals in their proper rank alongside early European races of mankind. One investigator, however, Mr. Henry Balfour, F.R.S., Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, has for years past been little satisfied with the conclusions arrived at. He did not think it proper to express definite opinions based on the examination of a few specimens. As long ago as 1892 he started to collect these stone-tools, and even when some hundreds had been got together decided that many more were needed for a correct estimate of the "culture" they displayed to be arrived at, for there were many types to be dealt with. But something needs to be said about the manner in which Mr. Balfour chose to approach not only this task but that of studying generally the productions of Stone-Age man. He set to work to learn the art of knapping flints, to become a true artisan, as it were, in a very ancient form of handicraft. As might be expected he found it by no means an easy job to acquire the necessary skill to turn out the finished article, satisfactory to the producer and capable of deceiving the expert connoisseur. It was, therefore, both as a scientist and as a cunning artificer, "one who had passed through the mill", and was well able

to appreciate the dexterity of others when it was met with, that he has scrutinized a large number of Tasmanian relics. Thanks to the industry of the late Mr. Ernest Westlake, who visited Tasmania in the years 1908–10, more than 12,000 specimens are now in Mr. Balfour's hands, and of these he has already examined some 8,000, gathered from over 100 different sites. The acquisitions from other sites still remain to be surveyed and recorded.

From the results furnished by the close study of such a vast number of implements Mr. Balfour has recently (1926) felt justified in publishing a preliminary expression of his views, leaving to a later date a final summary based on a complete scrutiny of the whole of the available material. He has called this first contribution *The Status of the Tasmanians among Stone-Age Peoples*, and the pamphlet, with its 28 illustrations, forms Part I, Volume V, of the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia*. From its nature the subject-matter is highly technical and abstruse, and we must content ourselves with a few extracts, which will serve to show the claim made by the author for a higher place for the race among primitive peoples than has hitherto been accorded to it. He contends that of the criteria by which the stone-work of the Tasmanians is to be evaluated, "technique" and not "shape" or "form" must hold the superior place and control judgment.

"The Tasmanian aborigines are probably the only people of whom it can be said with confidence that they remained into quite recent times in an arrested culture-phase which may be described as strictly *Palæolithic* —a very remarkable instance of the persistence of primitive conditions. As such the Tasmanians have a high intrinsic interest both for the ethnologist and the archæologist. To the latter, indeed, there is a wider interest in this 'unrisen' people, inasmuch as the study of their rudimentary stone-age culture is of value in helping to fill some of the gaps in the prehistoric record."

. . . "Scanty and meagre records of the native habits and general mode of life exist and are helpful as far as they go, and a few objects made of wood and other perishable materials have been preserved. But . . . the greater part of our material inheritance from them, for purposes of scientific investigation, consists of the stone implements which have fortunately been imperishable." . . .

"In estimating the degree of advancement of a given people in the general sequence of culture-evolution, we must, I think, draw our conclusions from their highest attainments; and if this canon be accepted, I would urge that, in respect of Tasmanian culture, the analogies hitherto suggested fall short of a true estimate. . . . The stone technique has, I consider, been marked too low. My principal object is to put forward a plea for a correlation with a post-Mousterian culture-phase, to wit, the *Aurignacian* culture, since an analogy with the latter is very abundantly suggested by implements of the Tasmanian series, on the evidence both of form and technique (Plate 15). This evidence can no longer be overlooked, and our diagnosis of the status of this people must be modified thereby. The ruder types of implements must be relegated to a position of secondary interest, and no longer be regarded as indicating the general culture-horizon of the Tasmanians." . . .

"The Tasmanians have evidently been isolated throughout a very

prolonged period. Cut off from outside influences, until the most recent times, through the formation of Bass Strait, their culture remained in a very backward state up to the time of their final extermination. At the same time it cannot merely have stagnated and persisted in a completely arrested state. Changes must inevitably have occurred during the long period of exclusive occupation of the island, the special environmental features of which must have created special requirements and the need for special adaptations." . . .

" I have been obliged to restrict myself to my more limited objective, which is to offer evidence to prove that the attainments of the Tasmanians in the art of fashioning stone implements have been considerably underrated, and that we must raise our estimate and credit them with a higher degree of skill and greater versatility than has been admitted."

It might be thought that a thorough examination of the immense assortment of stone tools collected by Mr. Westlake would exhaust the subject, but Mr. Balfour does not hold that view, and considers that further local research work is needed. For instance, a comprehensive topographical survey of the workshops of the natives is essential, to show their location and relation with the geological formations or out-crops from which they drew the raw material for their industry. Each factory requires its own detailed survey or examination, because, to an observant eye, what appears to be mere debris may have scientific value. The location of kitchen-middens should be included in such a systematic chart, in order that any implement found therein may be correctly associated with its own group or tribal area. In the comparative static condition to which the race had attained in its occupation of the island, with various tribes confined to fairly well-defined geographical districts, it is almost certain that each division had its own sub-culture. The survey now suggested will help to elucidate this thesis and contribute to a final judgment on the subject as a whole.

We see then, from what has been touched upon in this appendix, that the history of the race has yet to be written. Its story after the advent of white men strictly belongs to its third age. Documentary evidence connected with its food-stuffs, animal and vegetable, has yet to be collated. With regard to its chief industry, tool-making, further research is called for. In this work even a casual " find " made by an uninitiated person may have its scientific value, provided precise details connected with it are brought to the notice of the proper authorities, that is, the officials of a local museum or others possessing expert knowledge of the subject. The record of any such discovery should include the date, manner of finding, and an exact description of the locality, for identification. It is preferable that workshops should be examined by qualified persons only.

APPENDIX C

ENGLAND—1760–1832

Readers who have followed in the foregoing pages the sequence of events leading from the discovery of Tasmania in 1642 to its settlement in 1803 and 1804 will have noticed how, after the appearance of Marion on the scene in 1772, the movement towards the crowning point, marked at first by a series of disconnected voyages, gradually took on a more intensive and purposeful form, until, towards the end, as the result of the growing rivalry between two great peoples, it culminated in the island becoming a well-defined unit in the geographical world of the period. It is easy to see that, as in the case of the foundation of New South Wales, so, when the time came, the settlement of Tasmania was only rendered possible by that force which during the preceding years had grown so vastly in magnitude and so wide reaching in its influence: the Sea Power of Great Britain. A glance at the chronological table teaches us how, beginning with the victories of Rodney and ending with those of Nelson, success over her enemies by sea-battles enabled Britain to pass to and from the distant lands of Australia, to survey its coasts, and to establish settlements where she desired. But the extension of her sea-power was only one of the great changes that took place in the homeland during the reigns of George III and his two successors, and make the period so interesting.

The second change was of a domestic character, involving a considerable alteration in the lives of the non-governing classes of the people. It has been summed up in the term "Industrial Revolution", a comprehensive expression, covering in reality a number of innovations, developments and improvements in the industry, transport, trade and agriculture of the country, which had as their result a slow, sure but painful upgrowth in the physical and mental conditions of the masses affected by them. The other upheaval in the old order of things was that brought about by the revolt of the American colonies in 1776. But for that violent break-away of a part of the Empire the opening up of Australia would have been greatly delayed, and in any case must have taken on an entirely different form. It is indeed quite conceivable that had the American colonists remained loyal as a community the British Government might have been content to see France seek an outlet for her natural desire for expansion by the establishment of settlements in the southern continent. In this respect Australia owed the United States some thanks, but the debt has since been paid.

Because of their direct influence on the birth and infancy of New

South Wales and Tasmania as outlying parts of the Empire we can readily appreciate the importance of its naval expansion and of the check to the hopes of Great Britain brought about by the colonial rebellion, but the industrial revolution might at first sight seem to stand apart and to be in no way associated with the other movements. Such a view will be dismissed when it is considered that from a community in a constant state of transition (because of the manifold workings of a freshly inspired industrial world) came the people, soldiers, sailors and officials, together with the delinquents, rebels and more or less hardened felons (for it is necessary to draw from the outset strict distinctions between the various classes of convicted persons), to whom was delegated the task of creating the new penal establishments required to take the place of the American colonies as receptacles for those sections of her society of which England desired to rid herself. Those first arrivals were soon followed, as a juster sense of the real meaning of colonization asserted itself, by the bands of free settlers which, small in numbers in the earlier days (beginning in 1793), gradually increased in importance, though with occasional checks, as the opportunities offered by the new countries became better known.

Not the least curious phase of that period of social flux in England was the constant growth of a feeling of reverence for the rights of property as opposed to those of the individual over his life and liberty of action. Such was the strength this ill-balanced attitude gained that it became possible to add to the laws, already severe, whereby for the most trivial offences against "property" transportation overseas was considered a just punishment, and once in the Statute Book it was the work of long years to remove or ameliorate them. At the beginning of the period under review there were as many as one hundred and sixty crimes, ranging from murder to the sending of threatening letters, punishable by death, while many petty offences, down to thefts of goods under a shilling in value, carried as their penalty imprisonment with hard labour and transportation. Combinations for the purpose of raising wages were as illegal as smuggling, perjury and the stealing of dead bodies for sale to surgeons. An extraordinary feature about this legislation was that it took place at a time when it was considered desirable to retain men in the country for its defence, rather than allow them to move out of it as emigrants.

It is necessary to note by way of contrast that alongside that retrograde movement there was another that had as its mainspring the betterment of mankind, and not its degradation, however much the idea of degradation may have been absent from the intentions of legislators. Amongst the many names of those associated with this regenerative crusade are those of John Wesley (1703–1791), his brother, Charles Wesley (1707–1788), George Whitefield (1714–1770), John Howard (1726–1790), the prison reformer, William Wilberforce (1759–1833), the friend of Pitt and chief destroyer of the slave trade, Sir Samuel Romilly (1757–1818), the law reformer, Robert Owen (1771–1838), the social propagandist, and the Quakeress, Elizabeth Fry (1780–1845), also a prison reformer. If the law-givers of the land were strangely blind as to what was going on beneath them, the people

themselves were in many instances reaching upward, and it has been pointed out that "the 18th Century is conspicuous for the number of men who rose from the humblest positions to distinction in science, art and literature." The Sunday-school movement, started by Robert Raikes in 1780 at Gloucester, and the school for London boys opened by Joseph Lancaster, in 1798, were manifestations of the same spirit.

In his *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1907, p. 178), Sir Leslie Stephen has drawn attention to yet another phase of domestic evolution that took place towards the end of the century:

> "The aristocracy is still in possession of great wealth and political power, but beneath it has grown up an independent society, which is already beginning to be the most important social stratum and the chief factor in political and social development. It has sufficient literary cultivation to admit the distinguished authors and artists who are becoming independent enough to take their place in its ranks and appear at its tables and rule the conversation."

The earliest influences of this cultural growth upon the new colonies appear in the extension to them of the scientific research for which Sir Joseph Banks was mainly responsible. This "upper stratum," to use Stephen's description, "the professional men, the lawyers, clergymen, physicians, the merchants who had been enriched by growth of commerce and manufactures, the country gentlemen", had its share, later on, in the stream of emigration already referred to.

A final factor, which must be noted because of its influence upon the thought and character of the time, was the French Revolution. This great political movement had its reactions in England, and the special legislation that, with some reason, was thought necessary to combat the subversive tendencies of that mighty foreign upheaval, when the safety of the home country was threatened (and that had its counterpart in the Great War in the Defence of the Realm Act, better known as "Dora"), belonged to the class of restrictive measures that put a severe restraint on the liberties of the subject.

The sources of information concerning the industrial revolution, and the changes wrought in the social horizon and environment of the general body of the community by the movements indicated above, are too widely scattered amongst the publications of the period to be sought for by any but students and those who would specialize in certain sections of the subject. Contemporary writers were too near their own times to be able to visualize and describe the growth and development of their country as a whole. Acts of Parliament, Reports of Parliamentary Committees, departmental returns, police reports, newspapers, biographies, pamphlets, and even novels of the age, furnish their contributions to patient investigators. Many books based on intensive research work over this wide area have been written in more recent years, and the changes brought about by the industrial revolution have even been used historically in endeavours to mould arguments in favour of Socialism. Few general readers have opportunities for examining those sources of information, and they must therefore rely on the labours of others. It may, perhaps, be helpful if the names

of a few outstanding works, with indications of their scope, are mentioned here. The method has this advantage that in the works now specified will be found bibliographies sufficient for every class of reader.

British History in the Nineteenth Century (1782–1901). By George Macaulay Trevelyan. London, 1922.

Although the author gives the year 1782, which saw the beginning of the career of William Pitt, as the best starting-point of the period chosen, he goes back to the first year of the reign of George III for the suitable introduction of his subject. Each phase of the social changes enumerated above is dealt with. Village and town life, the development of road transport, canals and steam railroads, prisons, factory acts and other legislation, parliamentary reform, the improvements in agriculture and stock-breeding that were a feature of the age, all these and other themes, including some account of the early days of the colonies, are set forth and command the reader's attention. More than half the book is devoted to the era with which we are here specially concerned, that is, up to and including the Reform Act. It is probably correct to say that for the dweller in the dominions who would have intelligence of the land of his forbears during the period which a single picture of it can give, no more concise yet comprehensive account for his purpose has yet appeared. A statement made by the author indicates two of the ways in which his pen was influenced throughout:

"I cannot hold the epicurean doctrine, sometime favoured nowadays, that because history increasingly deals with generalisations it is safe for the student to neglect dates, which are the bones of historical anatomy. Still less is it safe, in pursuit of generalised truth, to overlook the personality and influence of great men, who are often in large measure the cause of some 'tendency' which only they rendered 'inevitable'."

The Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England. By Arnold Toynbee. London, 1925.

This book is based on the lectures of one who was a social reformer as well as a political economist. Though never a "socialist" in the accepted sense, the author, a tutor at Balliol College, Oxford, studied economy in order to help forward any movements making for improvements in the material and spiritual condition of the labouring classes, and to bring about better relations between them and their employers. The first edition of his work appeared in 1884, after his death, and the seventh reprint of the third edition in 1925. As 1760 is chosen as the starting-point the conditions in England at that time with regard to her manufactures, trade, agriculture, population and wage-earners are fully treated. The book contains three 'popular addresses' delivered to audiences of working men and their employers in English manufacturing centres. Sold at a few shillings (5*s*.), the work has been bought by many thoughtful working men wishing to widen their outlook.

London Life in the 18th Century. By M. Dorothy George. London, 1925.

No study of the period would be complete without attention being given to the history of London, and the mass of detailed information,

some of it of an unusual though fully cognate character, brought together with infinite pains, gives this work a value that will be thoroughly appreciated by readers. London was a microcosm of the whole country, and although it is said not to have suffered from the evils of the industrial revolution, it enjoyed its benefits. Minute descriptions are given of the lives of the "mass", while the gradual diminution of drunkenness, the increase in morality and improvements made in housing and sanitation are fully discussed. For those interested in the subject there are accounts of the methods, official and otherwise, by which the transfer of criminals to the West Indies and the British colonies in America was made. The story is carried well into the nineteenth century, and it is one that, in spite of much that is sordid, depicts the steady growth and advance in the living conditions of the people. It is certainly not one to be put behind a screen, for, as Hogarth has shown, the industrious as well as the idle apprentice had his share in it.

Samuel Oldknow and the Arkwrights. By George Unwin, M.A. Manchester, 1924.

This work, by the Professor of Economic History in the University of Manchester, gives an account of the industrial revolution at Stockport and Marple. It illustrates the career of one man, Samuel Oldknow (1756–1828), who found his opportunity in the rapid development of spinning and weaving machinery to rise from humble surroundings to become a manufacturer, landowner, promoter of canals and improver of live stock. His humane efforts on behalf of the health, education and living conditions of his workpeople form only part of a personal narrative, not untouched by romance, giving a true insight into the industrial and commercial turmoil of his times.

History of New South Wales from the Records. By G. B. Barton. Vol. I. Sydney, 1889.

In the preface of this work the following statement is made:

"The attainment by the colony of the Centennial period of its existence, appeared to the Government of New South Wales an appropriate occasion for the preparation, at the public cost, of a comprehensive history, embodying information obtainable from all known sources, and of such an authentic character as to form a reliable basis for the labours of the future historian."

Only two volumes of the proposed work appeared. The author of the first of these has chosen to arrange the material at his disposal in the form of a series of articles under some seventy different headings which, although presented without chronological sequence, provide valuable documentary evidence on several subjects, of which the following are the chief: (i) Transportation to the West Indies and the American colonies prior to 1776. (ii) Crime and Punishment in the 18th Century. (iii) Initiation of the scheme to colonize New South Wales. (iv) The association of Sir Joseph Banks with this scheme and with the young settlement. (v) Foundation of the colony by Governor Phillip under an Act of Parliament passed in 1787.

It will be seen that the work provides a succession of connecting

links between two periods, England before and England after 1776. On the statistical side two subjects call for notice. Dealing with the early days of transportation from England the following extracts may be quoted:

"The transportation of convicts from England to the North American colonies began in the reign of James I, was largely resorted to in the time of Charles II, and early in the eighteenth century was reduced to a regular system. One reason why it came so largely into use was because it was found that the Government might save the expense of maintaining convicts by selling them as slaves for a term of years or for life, to a Virginia or Maryland planter. The Government, of course, did not sell the convicts directly, but it empowered the shipowners who contracted for their transportation to sell them, by giving the former a statutory right of property in their service. The Government transferred them to the planters—the Government in that way relieving itself of all cost and responsibility." . . . "There are no very accurate means in the present day of ascertaining the extent to which transportation to America was carried during the period of one hundred and twenty years—say 1650 to 1775—in which it may be said to have flourished. According to an official estimate, written in 1787, the average annual number transported during the seven years from 1769 to 1775 was about 1,100. If we take the average at 1,000 throughout the whole period, the result would be a total of 120,000. That estimate is probably within the mark, because it takes no account of the large numbers who were sent out for political offences after the rebellions of 1685, 1715 and 1745. Nor does it take any account of the offenders who were allowed to transport themselves. . . . In any case therefore it may fairly be assumed that while the total number of convicts of all classes transported to America could not have been less than 120,000, it was probably far larger."

Dealing with "Crime and Punishment in the 18th Century", extensive lists are given of (i) Crimes punishable by deprivation of life, (ii) Crimes denominated single felonies, punishable by transportation, whipping, imprisonment, the pillory, and hard labour, according to the nature of the offence, (iii) Offences denominated misdemeanours, punishable by fine, imprisonment, whipping, and the pillory.

A Bibliography (with its explanatory notes) of Terra Australis, New Holland and New South Wales, to the year 1820, and running to thirty-nine pages, concludes the work.

NOTES

Note (1), p. 11.—The rock like a lion's head noted by Tasman is the Mewstone of later days. His Pedra Branca has retained the name given by him, and its eastern neighbour, Eddystone, was so called by Cook.

Note (2), p. 31.—It is possible that when Cook sailed from New Zealand to explore the east coast of "New Holland" the principal aim that he had in view was to clear up all doubt as to the existence of a strait between that country and New Guinea. Although the time at his disposal was ample, if all went well, his movements were governed by the necessity of arriving at and negotiating the strait, should this be found to exist, before the season of strong westerly winds set in. If this surmise is correct the southern area would seem to Cook of minor importance, and his journal shows that the coast from Point Hicks to the Barrier Reef was traversed with the least possible delay in five weeks.

Note (3), p. 33.—Admiral Wharton made the following observations on this point: "Luis Vaezde Torres, commanding a Spanish ship in company with Quiros in 1605, separated from his companion in the New Hebrides. He afterwards passed through the Strait separating New Guinea from Australia, which now bears his name. This fact, however, was little known, as the Spaniards suppressed all account of the voyage, and though it leaked out later the report was so vague that it was very much doubted whether he had really passed this way. On most charts and maps of the period New Guinea was shown joined to Australia, and to Cook the establishment of the Strait may fairly be given."

G. Collingwood, in his *Discovery of Australia*, states that the Spanish knew of the strait before Torres sailed through it in 1606. If he is correct the fact was as little known to mariners of other nations as the performance of Torres after that took place. It is remarkable that the Dutch, whose interest in finding a sea-route in that direction was certainly not less than that of the Spanish in hiding its existence, never succeeded in learning the truth. While credit must be given to the Spanish for the success of the deliberate concealment, rendered necessary as a strategical manœuvre in troublous times, the true honours must remain with Cook, who cleared away existing doubts and ignorance and established the strait by seeking out and charting a possible route. The publication without undue delay of the knowledge thus gained puts into the shade any claims for high distinction that may be made on behalf of the early Spanish navigators in that region.

Note (4), p. 40.—Crozet paid a high tribute to the quality of Cook's chart of that part of the coast of New Zealand traversed by Marion's expedition. He was astonished beyond all expression at the exactitude and detail he found in it, and even went so far as to doubt whether maps of the French coasts were more precise than those of the celebrated English navigator!

Cook, on his part, wrote of Crozet in favourable terms, after a meeting of the two men in Table Bay in 1775 (Chapter V).

Note (5), p. 49.—James Burney (1750–1821) was a son of Dr. Chas. Burney, the musician, author, and intimate friend of Dr. Johnson. He entered the Navy in 1764, and after service in N. America and the Mediterranean sailed with Cook on his second voyage, being promoted lieutenant in 1773 and transferred to the *Adventure*. He took part in Cook's third voyage, thus making a second visit to Tasmanian waters. On being promoted Captain in 1782 he went to the East Indian Station, from which he returned to England in ill-health. Burney did not serve at sea after this, but devoted himself to literature. His principal works were *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean to the year* 1764, London, 1803–1817, and *A Chronological History of the North-Eastern Voyages of Discovery and of the Early Eastern Navigations of the Russians*, 1819. He also wrote an *Essay on the Game of Whist*, 1821.

Note (6), p. 53.—The earliest record of Tobias Furneaux's service in the Navy is dated February 1757, when he was entered in the *Marlborough* as a midshipman, becoming later a master's mate in the same ship. There is no " passing certificate " on record, but he was appointed lieutenant in 1759 and sailed in the *Dolphin* as second-lieutenant under Capt. Wallis, on his voyage round the world, 1766–1768. Promoted Commander in 1771, he was placed in charge of the *Adventure*, to accompany Cook on his second voyage to the southern seas. After the *Adventure* returned to England in 1774, Furneaux was on half-pay for a year ; he was then promoted Captain, and appointed to the *Syren*. He took this ship from England to join the naval forces operating against the rebels in the American colonies. This was Furneaux's last command. The *Syren* was wrecked on the coast of Connecticut in November 1777. At the court-martial her captain, who had been made prisoner by the rebels and exchanged, was exonerated from blame ; at his own request he was placed on half-pay. He died in December 1781.

Note (7), p. 63.—Cook overlooked the visit of Marion in 1772.

Note (8), p. 79.—Vol. II, Part II, of the *Royal Naval Biography*, by Edward Marshall, London, 1825, gives a full account of Capt. Peter Heywood's career, including his experiences during the *Bounty* trouble. Peter Heywood, born 1773, was a son of a Deemster of the Isle of Man, whose father had been Chief Justice of the Island. " Heywood," wrote Sir John Burrow, " having reached nearly the top of the list of captains, died in this present year (1831), leaving behind him a high and unblemished character in that service of which he was a most honourable, intelligent and distinguished member."

Note (9), p. 79.—William Bligh was born in 1754. His passing certificate, dated 1st May 1776, with its record of early service, is similar to that of many others who afterwards became naval officers. He was master in the *Resolution* during Cook's final voyage, but it was not until 1781 that he was promoted lieutenant. He became a Captain in 1790, after the *Bounty* affair, and was in charge of the second and successful expedition to Tahiti, sent out to transport bread-fruit trees to the West Indies (Chap. IX). He did useful service for the Admiralty in 1797 in connection with the serious mutiny at the Nore, and in the same year commanded the *Warrior* in the Battle of Camperdown. In 1801, when in charge of the *Glatton*, he received the personal thanks of Lord Nelson for his services in the Battle of Copenhagen. Appointed Governor of N.S.W. in 1805, he was arrested and removed from his office in January 1808 by the military authorities of the colony, an action that failed to receive the official endorsement of the home Government. After his return to

England in 1810 he was not again employed on active service. He was promoted to the rank of Rear-Admiral in that year, and to that of Vice-Admiral in 1814. He died in 1817. Sir John Barrow, who as Second-Secretary to the Admiralty was in an exceptional position to secure information, made the following statement in his book, *Mutiny of the "Bounty"*, page 267: "It was Bligh's misfortune not to have been educated in the cockpit of a man-of-war, among young gentlemen, which is to the navy what a public school is to those who are to move in civil society."

Fletcher Christian, born in 1763, belonged to a Cumberland family whose forebears had been associated for many generations with the Isle of Man. Some members of the family had been Deemsters in the island. Christian had made two voyages with Bligh previous to embarking with him in the *Bounty*. His brother Edward, Professor of Law at Cambridge, Chief Justice of Ely, and well known as the editor of *Blackstone's Commentaries*, published an account of the court martial of the mutineers, with a reasoned explanation of his brother's conduct.

Note (10), p. 84.—When at Petropavlovsk La Pérouse found that the tomb of Capt. Clerke, who died there when the *Resolution* and *Discovery* visited that port (Chap. VI), had upon it an inscription which, as he recorded, "was merely painted on wood, a substance too perishable to perpetuate the memory of such an estimable navigator." He therefore had the inscription engraved on a copper plate and set up in position.

Among those wounded in the fatal affair at Samoa was Father Receveur, the chaplain and collector of curiosities attached to the *Astrolabe*. He died of his wounds at Botany Bay, and was buried by his countrymen near the northern headland of the bay. In this case, as in that of Capt. Clerke, the original inscription placed over the grave was on wooden boards. Later on these fell down or were destroyed by the natives, and Governor Phillip, it is pleasing to know, directed that the spot should be marked by a copper plate, with the French record upon it. Thus the friendly and graceful act of the Frenchman in the far north had its appropriate counterpart in the new settlement in the southern continent. A fitting memorial to Father Receveur, a man described by Lieut. P. G. King (afterwards Governor King), who saw him at Botany Bay, as "a man of letters and a genius", was erected by Baron de Bougainville in 1825, near that commemorating La Pérouse.

Note (11), p. 89.—There is one significant feature that Mortimer's narrative discloses, when he states that, after leaving Oyster Bay by the southern passage, at noon, *Cape Frederick Henry* bore south, distant ten or twelve miles. Although in his sketch of Maria Island this promontory is called Smoaky Cape the reference to C. Frederick Henry indicates that he had either detected, or at least suspected, the geographical blunder that had been made. For he knew that he was a long way from Adventure Bay and therefore a long way from the C. Frederick Henry of Furneaux, Cook and Bligh.

Note (12), p. 103.—E. P. E. Rossel (1765–1829) entered the French Navy in 1780 and took part in naval battles against the British. He accompanied D'Entrecasteaux when the latter was appointed to the command of the French naval forces in the East Indies, and the zeal and talent then displayed by him led to his selection as one of the officers of the expedition for the search of La Pérouse. After his capture by the British in 1795 he remained in England for seven years, being employed for a time by the Admiralty in the preparation of the geographical and nautical results of the expedition, the full account of which was published by him in Paris,

1808, in two volumes. As a Loyalist Rossel did not come into the category of prisoners of war during his seven years in England, and it was only at the urgent request of the French Government that he returned to his native land after the Treaty of Amiens was signed in 1802. A work by Rossel on the finding of Latitude and Longitude at sea was translated into English and published in London in 1815. In 1821 he took part in the foundation of the French Geographical Society, of which he was later President for several years. In 1826 Rossel, already a Rear-Admiral, became Director-General of the Department of Charts and Plans. The lighting of coasts and night-, day- and fog-signalling for French naval ships were other subjects to which he devoted attention. His published works were ten in number. " He had many friends and not a single enemy", was said of him after his death, an estimate due to his high character and the sweetness of his disposition. " A man of much information ", was the description given by the Captain of the British man-of-war, the *Sceptre*, which had captured the Dutch vessel in which Rossel was travelling to Europe in 1795.

Note (13), p. 103.—J. J. H. de Labillardière (1755–1834) began his career as a naturalist when he became a medical student, and before he reached the grade of Doctor, in 1780, botany had become for him the chief subject for future study. After spending eighteen months in England examining the exotic plants brought there from all parts of the globe, he engaged in some extended wanderings in the pursuit of botanical and general knowledge. The Alps, the mountains of Savoy, Cyprus, Syria, Mt. Lebanon, Damascus, Candia, Sardinia and Corsica, were the scenes of his researches. It was whilst publishing the results of these that the opportunity came to join the expedition of D'Entrecasteaux. The collections made by Labillardière during that ill-fated voyage became prizes of war for the British, but were returned to the botanist intact through the kindly offices of Sir Joseph Banks. The scientist's first work on his return to France was the preparation and production of his *Relation du Voyage à la recherche de La Pérouse*, in two volumes, Paris, 1800. This was followed, in 1804–1806, by his work in two volumes on some of the plants of New Holland, and in 1825 he issued a description of plants of New Caledonia. His countrymen did not place Labillardière very high in the ranks of botanists of his period, his ideas being held to lack the precision which newer methods in the science were then demanding. Extreme independence of character, a somewhat biting tongue and a certain aloofness in the manner of his life, prevented him from joining in with others in the development of fresh ideas going on around him. He only published descriptions of a selection of the many plants collected by him.

Note (14), p. 104.—That Bligh's promise to seek for any remains was carried out is shown by the references made to the subject in the logs of Lieut. Portlock and Flinders. The former was concerned, when near the Barrier Reef, that the sight of what appeared to have been a piece of wreckage floating in the sea had not been reported to him, as directed, should such an event occur.

As showing that the mutiny of the *Bounty* was much discussed among seamen, a comment by Labillardière is not without interest (Vol. I, p. 74) : " One of the officers of the *Pandora*, lately arrived at the Cape, assured us that Bligh had behaved very ill to Christian, and that an abuse of authority on the side of the captain was the cause of all his subsequent misfortunes. Christian, though master of the vessel, had been maltreated, in accordance with the orders of Capt. Bligh, just as if he had been a common sailor of the lowest rank. If this be the fact, Capt. Bligh

disguises the truth when he asserts that he had always treated the other with the greatest liberality."

Note (15), p. 112.—In his work on the plants of New Holland Labillardière calls this "*Fucus Potatorum*", and says of it: "In wide pieces of the leaves of this, cut off and arranged in the form of a pouch, the inhabitants of the woods at Cape Van-Diemen keep their sweet drinking water."

Note (16), p. 114.—This feat is better described by D'Entrecasteaux, who says that the woman allowed herself to slide down from the top of the rock.

Note (17), p. 114.—*Pteris Aquilina*, the common "Brake-fern" or "Bracken". In his *Botany of the Antarctic Voyage of H.M. Discovery Ships "Erebus" and "Terror"*, 1839–1843, Part 3, Vol. II, p. 139, Flora of Tasmania, Joseph Dalton Hooker, referring to the variety "esculenta" wrote as follows: "One of the most common Tasmanian Ferns, of which the roots roasted were formerly an article of food with the natives."

Labillardière's observations are important, because they specify one manner in which the natives made use of what was probably, on account of its abundance in all seasons, their chief vegetable food. The fresh young shoots of this fern were also used as an article of food.

Note (18), p. 122.—J. B. P. Willaumez (1763–1845), a ship's boy, by self-instruction and study advanced sufficiently in the French naval service to qualify as a lieutenant, receiving that rank after D'Entrecasteaux began his voyage to the southern seas. After the disaster which befell the expedition at Java in 1794, Willaumez rose rapidly in the naval service, and became a Rear-Admiral in 1804 and a Vice-Admiral in 1819. In 1820 he published his important *Marine Dictionary*, and in 1843 was created a Count.

C. F. Beautemps-Beaupré (1766–1854) began his career in the Map Department of the French Marine service. He was selected in 1791 to accompany D'Entrecasteaux as the Principal Engineer-Hydrographer of the expedition. On his return to France in 1796 he continued to serve in the Map Department, and in 1814 became Hydrographer-in-Chief and Joint Conservator of the Depôt of Marine. He had previously, in 1810, succeeded Count de Fleurieu as a member of the French Institute. He was also a member of the Bureau of Longitudes. His atlas of the nautical work of D'Entrecasteaux's expedition was published in 1808.

Note (19), p. 185.—There are, in fact, three sources of information regarding Flinders' circumnavigation of Tasmania: (1) His work, *Observations on the Coasts of V.D.L., etc.*, published in 1801: (2) His diary, given in the *Historical Records of N.S.W.*, Vol. III, Appendix B, from a copy found amongst the papers of Governor King, and (3) The account given in his *Voyage to Terra Australis.*

Note (20), p. 209.—Nicholas Baudin, born about 1750, began his career in the French merchant service. In 1786 he is stated to have been appointed a lieutenant in the Navy. Later on he had charge of two small expeditions sent to the West Indies to make collections in connection with natural history. The first of these voyages appears to have been conducted under the Austrian flag. An account of the second, carried out under the orders of the French Government, 1796–1798, was published by M. Ledru, one of the naturalists who accompanied Baudin. These cruises led to his appointment in 1800 to the command of the important voyage of discovery in southern seas with the ships *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*. Baudin died at Mauritius, 16th September 1803.

Note (21), p. 209.—François Péron (1775–1810) spent the early years of his youth as a soldier, two of these, when a prisoner of war, being devoted to

study; he was exchanged in 1794. After studying medicine, and having lost his fortune and been refused the hand of a rich young woman, he decided to leave France. It was at this crisis in his life (1800) that Baudin's expedition was about to sail "aux terres australes." Although the scientific staffs of the two ships had been appointed, such a chance for travel seemed too good to be lost. With characteristic energy Péron set about forcing an opening, and with the aid of the eminent botanist, Jussieu, succeeded in obtaining an appointment as doctor-naturalist, charged with special research. This voyage and the publication of part of the results of his investigations constitute Péron's life-work. A remarkable feature of it was his analytical study of his own temperament, his observations being put into writing (*Voyage de découvertes, etc.*, Vol. II, p. 450). Although one of the few survivors of an expedition in which the scientific staff suffered severely, while the marine officers lost only two of their number, the Commander and a subordinate, the hardships of the voyage brought about Péron's early death. Péron had a great capacity for friendship, especially amongst his fellow-scientists, but this had its counter-weight in the open vindictiveness of his attitude towards Captain Baudin.

Note (22), p. 222.—Louis de Freycinet (1779–1842) was the younger of two brothers who took part in Baudin's expedition, during which they were made acting-lieutenants by that commander. Louis de Freycinet was appointed to the command of the *Casuarina*, a small vessel purchased at Port Jackson by Baudin to carry out survey work in shallow waters of the Australian coast. After the death of Péron in 1810 Freycinet completed the account of Baudin's voyage and was responsible for the geographical section, including the charts. In the years 1817–1820 Freycinet commanded the *Uranie* on a voyage round the world, which included a visit to Western Australia and to Sydney. The vessel was wrecked at the Falkland Islands, but the natural history collections that had been made were saved. It is a notable fact that when choosing his scientific staff for that voyage he refused to have "savants" who were not attached to the French naval service. Freycinet succeeded Rossel in the Bureau of Longitudes after the death of the latter in 1829.

Note (23), p. 225.—Baudin was deeply affected by the death of Maugé, an event which he regarded as being an irreparable loss to the expedition, on account of the whole-hearted devotion to his duty, surpassing that of all the other savants, displayed by the zoologist. By the deaths of Riédlé and Maugé he was deprived of the only two genuine friends whom he had on board, and it distressed him to think that they had been victims of that personal friendship for himself which had been the ruling factor inducing them to take part in a campaign that proved so fatal for themselves.

Note (24), p. 226.—So extravagant had some of the officers been in the use of ammunition on shooting excursions, while the ships were in D'Entrecasteaux Channel, that Baudin had been compelled to curb this abuse, especially when parties were engaged on duty ashore. Being a strict disciplinarian he probably thought it proper that such a regulation should apply to the scientists as well as to his naval officers.

Note (25), p. 227.—It is of interest to note that the aborigines had discovered both of the economic uses of this plant, *Typha angustifolia*, that is, as food and as buoyant material for their canoes. Like the bracken fern this bulrush, known elsewhere as "Reed-mace", or "Cat's-tail", or "Elephant grass", supplied food in two forms, the roots being useful for the extraction by chewing of their saccharine matter, and the young

shoots forming an attractive and succulent vegetable. The plant has been termed " The Asparagus of the Cossacks," and it is put to a similar use in Kashmir. In India the reeds are used both for mats and the construction of wicker work boats.

Note (26), p. 229.—Péron used this episode as a means for one of his denunciations of Baudin's conduct. L. Freycinet ascribed the separation of the ships partly to remissness on the part of the commander. It is difficult, however, to avoid the suspicion that there was a certain amount of intention connected with the separation of the *Naturaliste* from the *Géographe*, and perhaps this must extend to the movements of the boat belonging to the *Géographe*. It appears certain that Hamelin was inclined to carry on his operations independently of his chief. Baudin states in his journal that he completely failed to understand the manœuvres of the *Naturaliste*.

Note (27), p. 248.—*Annales des Voyages*, Vol. 3, p. 120. Malte-Brun qualifies his statement with the words " If we are to believe the authors " . . . On the other hand, if we are to believe Baudin's Journal, which appears to be a matter-of-fact document of its kind, honestly written, the chief had good reason to complain of serious breaches of discipline and lack of true loyalty to their mission, on the part of some of his subordinates.

Note (28), p. 248.—*F. Péron*, by M. Audiat, p. 62.

Note (29), p. 249.—*Annales des Voyages*, Vol. 24, p. 291.

Note (30), p. 250.—*Life of Flinders*, by Prof. E. Scott, Appendix B, p. 436.

Note (31), p. 251.—" Baudin's Voyage," Prof. E. Scott, in *English Historical Review*, Vol. 28, 1913.

Note (32), p. 258.—*Historical Records of N.S.W.*, Vol. 5, p. 231.

Note (33), p. 271.—*Early Tasmania*, J. B. Walker, Hobart, 1902, p. 86.

Note (34), p. 285.—Baudin probably gave De Caen a copy of this letter when he arrived at Port Louis. It is possible, however, that the copy of it subsequently found amongst De Caen's papers was one sent to him by Governor King in 1805.

Note (35), p. 285.—See Prof. Scott's *Life of Flinders*.

Note (36), p. 286.—*Voyage to Terra Australis*, Matthew Flinders, Vol. 2, p. 486.

Note (37), p. 287.—*Annales des Voyages*, Vol. 23, p. 270.

Note (38), p. 287.—*L'Ile de France sous Decaen*, Henri Prentout, pp. 660–661.

Note (39), p. 289.—*Annales des Voyages*, Vol. 23, p. 268.

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The latest and most authoritative work on Abel Tasman. This

imposing monument to the explorer contains accounts of the voyages of other Dutch navigators and has been drawn upon for charts and narrative.

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J. B. Walker: *Early Tasmania.* Hobart, 1902.
Contains valuable papers, read before the Royal Society of Tasmania, on the discovery, settlements and aborigines of Van Diemen's Land.

Beckles Willson: *Ledger and Sword, or the Hon. Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies,* 1599–1874. 2 vols. London, 1903.

C. Day: *The Policy and Administration of the Dutch in Java.* New York, 1904.

Prof. Ernest Scott: "Baudin's Voyage of Exploration to Australia," in Vol. 28 of the *English Historical Review.* London, 1913.
Contains extracts from official sources of the instructions issued to Baudin by the French Minister of Marine concerning the objects and conduct of the expedition with which he was charged.

Prof. Ernest Scott: *The Life of Matthew Flinders. With portraits, maps and facsimiles.* Sydney, 1914.
This fine centenary volume, which has the distinction of being a unique biography of the navigator, is one that every admirer of that scientific sailor will desire to possess.

Records, in India Office, London.

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Annales des Voyages de la Géographie et de l'Histoire, by Malte-Brun. 24 vols. Paris, 1808–1814.
Contain references to D'Entrecasteaux, Baudin, Péron, L. Freycinet and Flinders.

Naval Chronicle. 40 vols. London, 1799–1818.
Vol. 6 of this series gives a full biographical memoir on Governor John Hunter.

Historical Records of New South Wales. 8 vols. Sydney, 1893–1901.
This series, which covers the period 1762–1811, and has been superseded to a great extent by the greater work mentioned below, owes some of its value to the inclusion of the 'King Papers', documents of a more or less official character and of great national importance, which were part of the family papers of Governor P. G. King.
Many documents relating to Van Diemen's Land have been omitted from this series.

Historical Records of Australia. 33 vols. Sydney, 1914–1925.
The volumes of this work, published by the Commonwealth Government of Australia, under the able editorship of Dr. F. Watson, must always furnish the foundations and framework of any political history either of Australia or of any State of the Commonwealth. The records are grouped for convenience of readers and students in several series, and each series has the official papers or dispatches properly belonging to it set out in strict chronological order. Numerous notes greatly add to the utility of the work. It is to be regretted that Series V, covering "Exploration Papers", has not yet been issued, and that there is as yet no series of early charts.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1600. English East India Company formed.
1602. Dutch East India Company formed.
1623. Massacre of English by Dutch at Amboyna.
1642. Tasmania discovered by Dutch Navigator, Abel Jansz Tasman, 24th November. His expedition carried out under the orders of Anthony Van Diemen, Gov.-General of Dutch East India Company, his two ships named *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen*. Tasman anchored in a bay now called North Bay, on the east coast of Forestier's Peninsula.
1652. War with Holland. Defeat of Ruyter by Blake.
Defeat of Blake by Van Tromp.
1653. Defeat of Van Tromp by Blake.
1654. Peace with Holland.
1664. War with Holland.
1667. Dutch fleet in the Medway and Thames.
Peace with Holland.
1672. War with Holland.
1674. Peace with Holland.
1689. Prince of Orange and his wife made King and Queen of England.
1760. George III began his sixty years reign.
1764. Hargreaves invented Spinning Jenny.
1765 Watt invented Steam Engine.
1768. Arkwright invented Spinning Machine.
These three events mark approximate beginning of the Industrial Revolution.
1768. Captain Cook's first voyage 1768–1771. East coast of Australia discovered and surveyed.
1771. Voyage of French Navigator, Marion du Fresne, 1771–1773, with ships *Mascarin* and *Marquis de Castries*. He anchored near Frederik Hendrik's Bay (now called Blackman's Bay) after traversing the southern coasts of Tasmania.
1772. Capt. Cook's second voyage 1772–1775. His second-in-command, Capt. Tobias Furneaux, in the ship *Adventure*, 336 tons, anchored in Adventure Bay, March 1773. He afterwards sailed along the east coast and after sighting Cape Barren Is. and Flinders Is. satisfied himself, and later on convinced Cook, that Tasmania formed part of the mainland.
1776. Declaration of Independence by United States of America, 4th July.
1777. Capt. Cook, on his third and last expedition, 1776–1780, in the ship *Resolution*, 462 tons, with the *Discovery*, 300 tons, Capt. Clerke, anchored in Adventure Bay, 26th to 30th January.
1778. Alliance of France with United States.
Death of Lord Chatham.
1779. Siege of Gibraltar.
Alliance of Spain with United States.
1781. Surrender of Cornwallis at York Town, 19th October.

1782. Victories of Rodney over Spanish and French fleets.
Peace Treaties of Paris and Versailles, and acknowledgment by Great Britain of independence of United States.
Pitt's Bill for Parliamentary Reform rejected. Administration of Home and Foreign affairs divided by the creation of two distinct departments.
Thomas Townshend (who became Lord Sydney in 1783) appointed Sec. of State for Home Affairs, with administration of Colonies.
1783. Ministry of Pitt, which was to last for seventeen years, begun.
1784. Pitt's Government of India Bill passed.
1785. Pitt's Parliamentary Reform Bill, rejected.
First use of steam engines in cotton mills.
1786. Trial of Warren Hastings.
Capt. Arthur Phillip, R.N., commissioned 12th October to form a settlement in New South Wales.
1788. Governor Phillip, with the "First Fleet", arrived at Botany Bay, 20th January. Owing to its unsuitability as a place for settlement he moved to Port Jackson, where, on 26th January, formal possession was proclaimed, this being followed, 7th February, by an official proclamation concerning the colony, which included Tasmania. Norfolk Is. was soon after occupied for use as a branch establishment. Sydney named after the Sec. of State for Home Affairs.
Lieut. Wm. Bligh, H.M.S. *Bounty*, 215 tons, put into Adventure Bay on his way to Tahiti, remaining from 20th August to 4th September.
1789. Capt. John Henry Cox, in the brig *Mercury*, 152 tons, anchored in Cox's Bight, near S.W. Cape. He then sailed to the east coast and discovered Oyster Bay, a small inlet on the west side of Maria Is., 3rd July to 11th July.
Beginning of French Revolution, Bastille stormed 14th July.
Lord Hobart succeeded by W. W. Grenville, afterwards Lord Grenville, as Sec. of State for Home Affairs.
1791. Representative Government (House of Assembly and Council) established in Canada by Pitt's Government.
Lord Grenville succeeded by Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, as Sec. of State for Home Affairs.
1792. Capt. Bligh, with the ship *Providence* and the sloop *Assistant*, Lieut. Portlock, when on his second voyage to Tahiti to transport bread-fruit trees to the West Indies, visited Adventure Bay, 8th to 24th February. Matthew Flinders was a midshipman in the *Providence*.
The French Rear-Admiral, Bruny D'Entrecasteaux, on a voyage in search of La Pérouse, 1791–1793, with the ships *La Recherche* and *L'Espérance*, discovered and explored the Channel now bearing the admiral's name, and sailed through the passage communicating with Storm Bay, 21st April–28th May.
French Republic proclaimed, September.
Gov. Phillip sailed from Sydney for England, 11th December, leaving Major Grose, Lt.-Gov., in charge of colony.
1793. Execution of the French King, Louis XVI, 21st January.
D'Entrecasteaux re-visited Tasmania and carried out surveys of the ports on each side of the Channel. A boat-party found and explored the Derwent River, "as far as it was navigable for ships", and then visited what is now erroneously called Frederick

Henry Bay, noting the existence of Norfolk Bay, 21st January–27th February.
France declared war on Great Britain, February.
Gov. Phillip allowed to retire from the governorship of New South Wales. He died in 1814.
First free settlers arrived in New South Wales.
British Army landed in Flanders.
Lieut. John Hayes, of the Bombay Marine, with the private merchant ships *Duke of Clarence* and *Duchess*, visited D'Entrecasteaux Channel and the Derwent River, 26th April–9th June. He gave that river its present name.

1794. British Army driven from Holland.
British forces driven from Toulon by Bonaparte.
Suspension of Habeas Corpus Act.
Naval victory of Lord Howe over the French, " The Glorious 1st of June."
Creation of War Office and appointment of the first Sec. of State for War. Henry Dundas transferred from the Home Office to this new position. Duke of Portland appointed Sec. of State for Home Affairs, with administration of the Colonies.

1795. Capt. John Hunter, R.N., sailed from England, with the armed ships *Reliance* and *Supply*, to succeed Phillip as Governor of N.S.W. Flinders a master's-mate, and George Bass a naval surgeon, in the *Reliance*.

1796. Spain declared war on Great Britain.

1797. Great Britain left without allies to carry on war against France, Holland and Spain.
Battle of Cape St. Vincent against Spanish fleet won by Admiral Jervis, 14th February.
Mutiny at the Nore, April.
Battle of Camperdown against Dutch won by Admiral Duncan, October.
Merino sheep introduced into N.S.W. from the Cape of Good Hope.
Rebellion in Ireland.
Geo. Bass began (December) the journey of eleven weeks in a whaleboat, which proved almost beyond doubt that Tasmania was separated from N.S.W. by a " wide opening ".

1798. Irish rebellion suppressed.
Nelson won the Battle of the Nile, 12th August.
Flinders and Bass (September 1798–January 1799) discovered Port Dalrymple, and after finally establishing the existence of Bass Strait became the first circumnavigators of Tasmania, their vessel being the colonial-built sloop *Norfolk*, 25 tons.

1799. Flinders engaged in exploring Queensland coast.
Combination Law passed.

1800. Lieut. Flinders returned to England in *Reliance*.
Act of Union with Ireland.
Hunter retired from Governorship of N.S.W., and was succeeded by Capt. Philip Gidley King, R.N. Hunter died in 1821, in his 83rd year.

1801. End of Pitt's first Ministry, March.
Administration of Mr. Addington.
Control of Colonies transferred from the Home Office to the War Office, an arrangement that lasted till 1854, when the Colonial Office became a separate Department.

Lord Hobart appointed Sec. of State for War and Colonies, the Under-Secretary being John Sullivan.
Battle of Copenhagen won by Nelson, April.
Commander Flinders, in the *Investigator*, began his survey of the southern coast of Australia, December.

1802. Discovery of Port Phillip by Lieut. Murray, R.N., 5th January.
Capt. Nicholas Baudin, in command of a French scientific expedition, with two ships, *Géographe* and *Naturaliste*, visited Tasmania, January to March, anchoring in D'Entrecasteaux Channel and at Maria Island, making coast surveys and discovering Eagle Hawk Neck and East Bay Neck. The *Géographe* anchored in Adventure Bay for a few days in May. Both vessels, with the *Casuarina* (purchased in Sydney), visited King Is. in December when coastal surveys of that island and Hunter's Islands were made.
Discovery of Spencer's Gulf and St. Vincent's Gulf by Flinders, February and March.
Peace concluded with France, Holland and Spain by Treaty of Amiens, 27th March.
Flinders continued his nautical survey of Australia, leaving Sydney, July.

1803. Geo. Bass left Sydney in his brig *Venus*, 5th February, from which date no authentic news of him has come to light.
Birth of Australian Press, Sydney, March.
War with France declared by Great Britain, May.
Return of Flinders to Sydney in *Investigator*, after circumnavigating Australia, June.
Porpoise and *Cato* lost on Wreck Reef, August.
Lieut. John Bowen, R.N., sent by Governor King to form a settlement at Risdon Cove, River Derwent. He landed there 11th September.
Flinders left Sydney in the *Cumberland*, 29 tons, 21st September, to travel to England *via* Torres Strait. Arrested by Governor De Caen on his arrival at Mauritius in December, and afterwards interned.
Battle of Assaye, 23rd September.
Lieut.-Gov. David Collins arrived at Port Phillip from England to found a settlement there or at a more eligible place on the southern coast of N.S.W., 9th October.

1804. Lieut.-Gov. Collins, having found Port Phillip unsuitable, landed at Sullivan Cove, Derwent River (Hobart), and founded his settlement, 21st February.
Second Ministry of Pitt, with Earl Camden as Sec. of State for War and Colonies, May.
Bonaparte proclaimed as Emperor of the French, May.
Settlement formed at Port Dalrymple by Lieut. Col. Wm. Paterson, Lieut.-Gov. of N.S.W., under instructions from England, November.

1805. Viscount Castlereagh appointed Sec. of State for War and Colonies, July.
Battle of Trafalgar, 21st October.

1806. Death of Pitt, 23rd January.
Ministry of Lord Grenville with Wm. Windham as Sec. of State for War and Colonies.
Gov. King handed over his command to Capt. Wm. Bligh, R.N., 13th August. He sailed for England the following February, and died 3rd September 1808, aged 49.

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